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SOUTH AFRICA REPORTEDLY MOVES TROOPS TO ANGOLAN BORDER

Paris LE CONTINENT in French 16 Apr 81 p 1

[Article by Mohamed Maiga]

[Text] According to information from Paris, South Africa is reportedly preparing to launch a vast military offensive against southern Angola. This offensive is reportedly aimed against the Namibian refugee camps, seen by Pretoria as military camps for SWAPO guerrillas. Some of the targets of the planned military operation could be the refugee centers located in the Angolan province of Kwanza Sul.

Numerous newsmen who recently visited these camps--among them LE CONTINENT special correspondent Herve Allangba--are categorical in asserting that the Kwanza Sul refugee centers are not military camps. They are sites that have received approximately 36,000 refugees, mainly women and children who are attempting to provide for their needs and to whom SWAPO cadres offer medical care and literacy courses.

In recent weeks, the South African air force has made many reconnaissance flights over the camps. In the past, these have always been the prelude to air attacks. The most recent large raid took place on 25 March.

Moreover, South Africa is presently stationing unprecedented numbers of troops and military materiel along the Angola-Namibia border. These concentrations are in no way justified by the activities of the SWAPO nationalists.

As the French weekly LE POINT points out, the target is surely Angola, and the new U.S. diplomacy is more or less "encouraging" Pretoria to do so. Finally, wasn't it Gen Magnus Malan, the South African minister of defense, who declared on 9 April that his country will never relinquish Namibia?

CSO: 4400/1110

INTER-AFRICAN AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

NIGERIAN-SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE--Lagos, Wednesday--Nigeria, although in the forefront of the fight against apartheid, conducts a flourishing trade with South Africa, a leading newspaper claimed here yesterday. The paper, the NATIONAL CONCORD, quoted "highly reliable sources" as saying Nigeria occupied a high position among African trade partners of South Africa. The trading, it added, did not have the approval of the Lagos Government. The paper said that other West African states too in spite of their tough stand at OAU (Organization of African Unity) meetings, "maintain secret trade links with apartheid South Africa." The newspaper cited a newly-opened container service between the Far East and West Africa to carry goods between Taiwan, Durban (South Africa) and Lagos. [Text] [Accra GHANAIAN TIMES in English 2 Apr 81 p 2]

CSO: 4420/956

BRIEFS

ITALIAN OIL CONTRACT--The Italian oil company AGIP has signed a contract with the Angolan SONANGOL company, according to which it will conduct exploration and exploitation activities off the Angolan coast in the "Bloc 1" perimeter. The contract stipulates that any future production will be divided between the two companies. [Text] [Paris LE CONTINENT in French 22 Apr 81 p 9]

CSO: 4400/1123

PRESIDENT'S SWEARING IN, INAUGURAL ADDRESS REPORTED

London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 840

[Text]

M. David Dacko has been sworn in for a six-year term as President of the Central African Republic, although four opposition candidates have sought annulment of the election results due to alleged irregularities. The Supreme Court has not yet given its ruling.

President Dacko said after being sworn in by the Supreme Court that the opposition leaders should "forgive and forget". It was only two days earlier that he had lifted a 10-day old state of emergency imposed after street protests by the opposition and bloody repression by state forces after Dacko's 50.2 per cent victory in the polls. The emergency was replaced by a state of alert, and the curfew was shortened by two hours to run from 8 pm to 5 am.

In his inaugural address, President Dacko recalled the words of the late Barthelemy Boganda that unity is life, disunity death, and urged the people to eliminate tribalism and regionalism. He said that March 15 elections had revealed a concentra-

tion of attacks on himself and "through him, one ethnic group, the Mbakara". He reiterated his attachment to freedom of expression, thought, association and party membership. He said yes to constructive criticism and opposition, but no to anarchy and to decline because "anarchy leads to tyranny and even to fascist dictatorship ..."

President Dacko said he was "personally the leader of the Central African Democratic Union ... and the President of all Central African citizens, that is, President of all the worthy sons of our country ...". He felt sure that M. Henri Maidou and M. Francois Pehoua, "who are responsible cadres, have no interest in fostering hatred ..." but he denounced Prof. Abel Ngouba's clandestinity and called for an end to all "hostile, partisan and sterile actions".

President Dacko appointed his Justice Minister, M. Simon-Narcisse Bozanga, to be his Prime Minister. M. Bozanga was also a member of Bokassa's cabinet.

CSO: 4420/962

BACKGROUND OF DISSOLUTION OF RED CROSS NATIONAL COUNCIL

London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 840

[Text]

The national council of the Central African Red Cross was dissolved at the end of March after a directive from the Minister of Health. He said its statutes had not been submitted for approval by the competent authorities, and it would be replaced by an interim committee for revision of its statutes. Mme. Ruth Rolland, the former president of the Central African Red Cross had sent a telegram to the *Canard enchaîné* (March 18) saying she had not received "any donation from the President of France", contrary to what President Giscard d'Estaing had himself said on French television about the Bokassa diamonds. The Elysée had affirmed payment on February 4 of a cheque to the Red Cross. The Presidency in Bangui had confirmed receiving the cheque and insisted that Mme. Rolland was no longer in a position to speak on behalf of the Central African Red Cross. It said the cheque from President Giscard d'Estaing would be "handed over to the new Red Cross council as soon as it was elected".

Le Monde reported that one of the President's cheques had gone to a mission run by a Dutch priest at Rafai, and another to a maternity run by a French nun at Dekoa. Rafai was said to be a favourite hunting area of the French

President, while Dekoa was also at the entrance of a hunting zone. The third presidential cheque went to a day nursery at Bouar, site of a French military base, and was presented by French soldiers.

No subventions

The only other day nursery in Central African Republic is in Bangui. It is larger than the one at Bouar, and the principal, Louise Griss-Bembe was baffled: "Since 1977, we have not received any subventions except a donation from Mme. Idi Amin Dada."

Mme. Rolland, former president of the Red Cross in Central Africa was surprised at the procedure followed by the French President. She said: "When a donation is made to the Red Cross it is addressed to the Red Cross office and not to President David Dacko. A few days ago I got a cheque for 541,064 CFA francs from West Germany. Their ambassador gave it to me and not David Dacko." Among the grievances that may have been harboured against her was her refusal to campaign for Dacko in the elections, and her preference for François Pehoua. She asserted that her dismissal from the presidency of the Red Cross was a *coup de force* by Dacko who was not even empowered to dissolve the Red Cross executive.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

BANGUI UNIVERSITY REOPENED--Bangui University reopened 10 days after being closed by President David Dacko following violent demonstrations against his victory in the March 15 presidential elections. First reports said the students, who allegedly spearheaded the protests by supporters of presidential runner-up Ange Patasse, were attending lectures normally. Schools will reopen after the Easter holidays. The riots left four people dead and more than 100 injured after about 3,000 demonstrators tried to march on the city centre following confirmation of Mr. Dacko's victory. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 840]

PATASSE ACCUSES DACKO--M. Ange Patasse, chairman of the Movement for the Liberation of the Central African People (MLPC) has accused President Dacko of starting a programme to eliminate political leaders, with French agreement. He told a press conference that Dacko had recruited mercenaries to subdue the northern and eastern provinces. He added that the MLPC would not participate in government unless an inquiry proved that there had been no cheating in the recent election. M. Patasse also declared his opposition to foreign military bases in the country. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 840]

CSO: 4420/962

PETROLEUM VIEWED AS PILLAR OF DEVELOPMENT

Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 12 Mar 81 p 23

[Article: "One of the Pillars of the Congo's Development"]

[Text] The oil wells operating in the Congo will produce more than 3 million tons of petroleum between now and 1982, significantly increasing revenues. Between 1978 and 1980 these revenues tripled, and this evolution is expected to continue during the next few years. An international seminar on "petroleum, gas, and alternative energies," organized jointly by the Congolese authorities and the AGIP-Researches-Congo Company (a subsidiary of the Italian firm AGIP [National Italian Oil Company]), was recently held in Brazzaville to evaluate the evolution of the oil industry in the Congo.

On this occasion, numerous Congolese and Italian technicians explained the possibilities open to the Congo. The speech of Nicolas Sarkis (Lebanon), an oil adviser of worldwide repute and the director of the Arab Center of Petroleum Studies, particularly held the participants' attention. He placed the evolution of the petroleum industry in the Congo in three frameworks: the country's economic evolution, the African context, and the world context.

Favorable Factors

According to Mr Sarkis, although the Congo now figures among the small world producers, it is destined to have a prosperous petroleum future. Today the country has an opportunity to insert petroleum activities and everything connected with them progressively into the plans for development of the different sectors of the economy. The exploitation of Congolese oil is developing at a reasonable rate. This, to the Arab expert, is auspicious, since too rapid development of the industry exposes the producing country to several risks.

Several favorable factors were considered concerning petroleum's contribution to the Congolese economy. Beyond the fact that an equitable division of petroleum revenues could improve the populations' living standard, "there is," stated Mr Sarkis, "the diversity and importance of other natural resources (mining, agricultural, forest, and tourist) that make possible balanced planning. Within this framework petroleum could be one of many possible pillars of development--by no means the sole pillar or a dominating sector conditioning all the others, with all the dangers that that would imply."

The Imperatives of Development

In his conclusion, the director of the Arab Center of Petroleum Studies especially emphasized that "to its good fortune, the Congo today is still free to direct the exploitation of its hydrocarbons riches to the best of the imperatives dictated by its economic development. A newcomer on the world petroleum scene, it has not been caught up in the struggles and pressures which on the international level will, in future, increasingly mark relations between the industrialized countries which lack energy and the Third World countries which can export it."

"This is a trump which is all the more valuable as it becomes less possible than ever to dissociate the world energy environment in which we live and in which we are destined to live from the local conditions under which the aspirations to development and well-being of the oil-producing Third World countries can be realized."

9380

C80: 4400/954

DELEGATION TO SOCIALIST BLOC CONGRESSES

Addis Ababa .THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 31 Mar 81 p 1

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--Comrade Berhanu Bayih, PMAC Standing Committee and COPWE Executive Committee Member, left here for Sofia on Sunday at the head of a five-man Ethiopian delegation to attend Congresses of Eastern European Communist Parties.

Comrade Berhanu and the delegation he is leading will attend the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria in Sofia beginning April 1, the Czechoslovak Communist Party to take place in Prague beginning April 6, and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to open in Berlin on April 11.

Comrade Berhanu Bayih said before departure from Bole International Airport Sunday morning that the Ethiopian delegation will avail itself of the occasion to meet with and brief leaders of Communist Parties in Western Europe on the progress and process of the Ethiopian Revolution and to exchange views conducive to the enhancement of mutually advantageous cooperation. He recalled that one of the resolutions passed by the Second Regular Session of the Central Committee of COPWE on foreign relations provided for strengthening relations with communist and progressive parties and said the present mission will help the Ethiopian delegation explain the stage reached by the popular revolution and exchange views on other matters of mutual interest and concern.

Comrade Berhanu Bayih was seen off at the airport by Comrade Woubishet Dessie, PMAC Standing Committee Member and COPWE Central Committee Member, Comrade Gessesse Wolde-Kidan, PMAC Standing Committee Member, Commissioner of the National Children's Commission and COPWE Central Committee Member, Comrade Tibebu Bekele, Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ambassadors of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak People's Republic and the German Democratic Republic.

CSO: 4420/958

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ORGANIZED UNDER REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH ASSOCIATION

Announcement Made

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 3 Apr 81 pp 2, 7

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--Students enrolled in the various faculties and colleges of the Addis Ababa University are to be organized under the Addis Ababa Chapter of the Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA).

Disclosing this yesterday, the Addis Ababa Regional Office of COPWE said University students would constitute the 26th organized branch of REYA in the Capital. The others being youth organized under the 25 Higher Urban Dwellers' Associations in the city.

A two-day meeting will be conducted on Saturday and Sunday at university facilities, a number of institutions and two secondary schools to lay the ground work for organizing university students within REYA, the Addis Ababa Regional Office of COPWE said.

Rationale for Move

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 3 Apr 81 p 3

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa (ENA)--Comrade Dr. Duri Mohammed, President of the Addis Ababa University, said here yesterday that organizing University students is essential to ensure the full and active integration of the students in the on-going national campaign for social development.

Comrade Dr. Duri emphasized that the role and contributions of students in a society can be meaningful only when they are organized into an association which would facilitate for their involvement in the economic, educational and other activities.

Comrade Dr. Duri stated that in the post-revolution struggle too University students were at the forefront in the National Campaign for Development Through Co-operation, in the setting up of mass organizations and other areas of endeavour. However, he noted, the inexistence of a union which would bring the students together has made their contributions less significant and incoherent. He expressed conviction that REYA would help coordinate the youth in the economic, political and social fields.

Comrade Dr. Duri disclosed that more than 20,000 people have graduated from the Addis Ababa University in its 30 years of operation.

Plans Under Way

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--A meeting of deans of the Addis Ababa University was held here yesterday afternoon to map out how best to implement the programme of the organisation of the University students under the Addis Ababa REYA.

Disclosing this, a spokesman of the University said that the deans' meeting had discussed the subject at length and had drawn up plans whereby basic REYA associations within the University would be established in accordance with the programme of the Addis Ababa COPWE Office.

The University's statement in this connection referred to the convening of the two-day seminar beginning today within the different campus of the University to ensure the setting up of basic associations in the various faculties.

The organization of the University youth under REYA is news that delights the students and signals the death knell to anti-people and counter-revolutionary elements, the statement said. It also shows the high stage of development attained by the Revolution, the statement added.

The deans' meeting, held under the chairmanship of Comrade Dr. Duri Mohammed, the President of the University, called on all revolutionary students, intellectuals and employees of the University as a whole to extend their co-operation so that the University students will form their association which will be the 26th alongside those of Higher Urban Dwellers' Associations.

The statement paid tribute to the heroic struggle and sacrifices of University students during the feudo-bourgeois regime for the establishment of a just society. It also noted, the special role they played to politicise and organize the peasantry as effective participants in the Development Through Co-operation Campaign.

Elections Held

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 12 Apr 81 pp 1, 5

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--The Executive Committee of the University Students' Association which recently joined the Addis Ababa Chapter of the Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA) as the latter's 26th higher member yesterday expressed commitment to fulfill the heavy responsibility entrusted upon it.

At a ceremony held at the Addis Ababa University hall yesterday afternoon, Comrade Haddis Moges, Head of Addis Ababa COPWE Youth Affairs, presented a report on the organization of youth and reported the results of last Wednesday's election procedures on the establishment of the higher REYA executive committee. Nine

executive committee and three discipline and control committee members were elected. Comrade Getachew Robelle was elected Chairman, Comrade Mesfin Beyene, Vice-Chairman, Comrade Nur Hussein Ibrahim, Secretary General, Comrade Solomon Mekbib, Chairman of the Control Committee, while eight others were elected as members of the executive and control committees.

After Comrade Haddis introduced the 12 newly elected office-bearers, the Chairman of the Addis Ababa Branch of REYA, the Addis Ababa University/REYA Chairman, the Secretary-General of the University Teachers' Association and the President of the University in turn made speeches on the significance of the organization of the students of the University and its affiliation with REYA.

Comrade Lemma Gutema, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE Representative for Addis Ababa region, gave directives to the elected office-bearers in which he pointed out that a heavy responsibility was involved in nurturing youth committed to the building of a socialist order and who are patriotic, revolutionary and firmly aligned with the working class.

Comrade Lemma noted that the teaching and molding of the youth along revolutionary lines would amount to securing a reliable force for the attainment of the goals of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) and the production of a new breed which will build the new society. He said that the University instructors and administrative staff have a big role to play in the realization of this goal.

Comrade Lemma reviewed the strong and weak points of youth in pre-revolution Ethiopia and pointed out that the struggle by youth can in no way be alienated from the overall class struggle.

Comrade Lemma noted that the Ethiopian Revolution, based on Marxist evaluation of the youth, believes that progressive students can play a decisive role in bringing about a new society and in building socialism.

He said that it is imperative to study the experiences of socialist and under developed countries, to understand the role played by youth in socialist construction and in the national liberation movements and noted the place of Ethiopian youth especially of the revolutionary intelligentsia in the country's construction endeavours.

Comrade Lemma said that in this regard Ethiopia's revolutionary intelligentsia have to contribute their time, energy, knowledge and if the need arises, their lives to free their country from backwardness. He noted that mere organization and love for the revolution alone is of little avail.

What is needed, he said is to contribute to the successes of the revolution in concrete terms.

Comrade Lemma said that the relation between the Addis Ababa COPWE Office and University youth in future will be strengthened.

He expressed the all-out support of the Addis Ababa COPWE Office and revolutionary comrades within the various university campuses in the determined struggle of the University Youth Association.

Comrade Lemma noted in conclusion that no effort should be spared in working for the realization of the decisions of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee of COPWE regarding education and mass organizations.

Speaking earlier, Comrade Haddis Moges recalled the role played by University students in bringing down the discredited feudo-bourgeois system and said the newly REYA-affiliated University Students' Association will have a notable role to play in the endeavours which Revolutionary Ethiopia is making in the socio-economic, political and cultural fields.

Comrade Dr. Duri Mohammed, President of Addis Ababa University, said the affiliation of University youth with the Addis Ababa Chapter REYA will create closer links between COPWE and the University. He said the organization of the University students will contribute to the success of the University's programmes in future.

Comrade Dr. Abay Kifle, Secretary-General of the Addis Ababa University Teachers' Association, said on his part that the organization of University youth was an idea which the Association had looked forward so eagerly and for which it had indeed struggled.

Comrade Tilahun Teshome, Chairman of the Addis Ababa Branch of REYA, said the University fraternity's role in defending and advancing the cause of the broad masses in pre-revolution Ethiopia was one from which it could derive legitimate pride. He said today's University population is likewise expected to undertake sacrifices in ensuring the continued triumph of the Popular Revolution.

Comrade Getachew Roble, Chairman of the Addis Ababa University/REYA, said the University community can no longer regard itself as an ivory tower. He expressed the commitment of the University population to translate into practice the resolution and guidelines of the Second Regular Session of the Central Committee of COPWE.

CSO: 4420/559

ADDITIONAL LANGUAGES WILL BE USED IN LITERACY CAMPAIGN

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Apr 81 p 6

[Article by Rashad Awkasho]

[Text] The fifth round of the National Literacy Campaign will be launched throughout the country on May 9. The forthcoming campaign will be a giant step in the all-out war against illiteracy. In addition to the Amharic, Tigrigna, Wolayita, Oromigna and Somaligna already used by the campaign, Kambata, Hadiya, Gedeo, Tigre and Kunama will be joining the media of instruction.

Preparations are also nearing completion to introduce five more local languages into the literacy campaign. The new ones are Sidamo, Guragie, Kaffa, Mocha and Afar, thus eventually bringing to 15 the number of local languages to be used in the campaign against illiteracy.

To the outside observer the introduction of so many languages into the literacy campaign may be mistaken for a luxury that the country can ill-afford. However, the truth is that the introduction into the literacy campaign of as many local languages as possible is vital for ensuring the success of the campaign. This many necessitate the training of teachers and the preparing of textbooks. However, the use of these languages is a must for putting an end to illiteracy throughout the country in the shortest possible time.

Despite the fact that these languages represent less than one-fourth of the more than 70 languages spoken in various parts of this country, they are at the top of the list as far as the number of speakers are concerned. Reliable data shedding some light on the number of speakers of each of these languages are lacking at present. However, according to some estimates, speakers of the 10 languages which will be used by the forthcoming campaign represent between 60 and 70 per cent of the inhabitants of the country. It is also believed that the 15 languages may be spoken by between 80 and 90 per cent of the population of the country. The use of these languages by the National Literacy campaign will enable the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the country to participate in the campaign either in their own vernaculars or through a second language they speak fluently.

Factor of Unity

For reasons of history Ethiopia is made up of many ethnic groups speaking different languages and dialects. Members of these ethnic groups are united by one strong common factor--their unshakable loyalty and dedication to the Motherland. This ethnic and cultural diversity, far from being a cause of weakness and disunity, always greatly contributes to the unity of the Ethiopian masses when the Motherland is threatened by foreign aggression.

The National Literacy Campaign does not aim solely at acquainting illiterates with the skill of reading and writing. It also familiarises participants with basic arithmetic and health education besides bringing about improved farming methods and better handicraft production.

This task of enlightening the people can be tackled with quick results in the local language of a given community. The task awaiting a literacy teacher who speaks the local language is, therefore, much easier than that of an instructor who does not speak the language and is compelled to conduct the campaign through an interpreter. All the former has to do is to use his skill in familiarising his students with the alphabet. The problem of an unfamiliar language is not simply there. As they move along learning reading and writing, literacy students follow the natural process of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar or the written language.

In the case of a new language the task awaiting the teacher and his students is much more complicated. If the teacher happens to speak the local language he may use that vehicle in introducing his students to both the new language and the alphabet. In case he does not speak the local language, the teacher may have to employ an interpreter to supply the missing link between himself and his students. Otherwise the process of teaching may prove to be a dialogue of the deaf. In both cases, the teacher has to familiarise his students with the new language and the alphabet. Thus, teaching becomes a tedious undertaking.

In short, teaching reading and writing to illiterate persons in their own languages can be accomplished in a matter of a few months. Doing the same thing in a new language may take years to accomplish. In addition to simplifying the task awaiting literacy-class teachers and students, the use of local languages in the campaign is bound to further enrich the cultural life of various nationalities. This makes considerable contributions towards the enrichment of the country's overall cultural and literary life. Up to now the scope of the nation's literary life had remained narrow and less reflective of the life of Ethiopia's various nationalities. This is due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of the languages spoken in the country were not written. For centuries on end stories and tales were transmitted from one generation to the next by word of mouth.

Far-Sighted Policy

The use of these long-neglected languages in the literacy campaign will be in line with the progressive policies of the Revolutionary Government. This far-sighted policy is aimed at ensuring fair-play for the heritage of various

nationalities. The programme of the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) clearly recognizes the equality of all languages, religions and nationalities in accordance with the spirit of socialism. The NDR also stipulates that every nationality in the country has the right to use its own language.

Introducing these languages into the campaign will hopefully pave the way for their use in kindergarten and primary schools. Up to now children of most nationalities did not have the privilege of being taught in their own native language at least during their first years at school. Even now it may take time to train teachers in various local languages. But once accomplished, the gesture will no doubt make matters easy for the young ones by creating a smooth transition from the mother tongue to the official language.

CSO: 4420/969

SATISFACTORY FUEL PRICE INCREASE, REFINERY PRODUCTION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 2 Apr 81 p 1

[Text] Addis Ababa (ENA)--The new price increase on petroleum put into effect throughout the country last week is certainly to have favourable impact on the operation of the Assab Oil Refinery.

This was disclosed by Comrade Kebede Akale-Wolde, General Manager of the Ethiopian Fuel Corporation. Comrade Kebede said that the fluctuating and ever rising prices of crude oil in the world market not only sapped the country's foreign exchange earning but also created heavy imbalances in the prices set by the Refinery for its commodities.

The newly enforced petroleum tariff at the national level said Comrade Kebede, would enable the Refinery to withstand to a limited extent the inflationary trends prevailing in the international market in this sector.

Comrade Kebede observed that the demand and consumption of fuel in Ethiopia has steadily increased owing to the growth in the flow of traffic and transportation facilities as well as the qualitative change that has come about as a result of the transition towards a new society.

The Assab Oil Refinery processes 2.8 million litres of crude oil daily and produces 2.5 million litres of refined oil. Out of a total of 680 million litres which the country consumes annually, 35 per cent is allotted to transport, 12 per cent to industry and the remaining to agriculture, roads and electricity supply.

During the current fiscal year, the Assab Oil Refinery will spend 400 million Birr for crude oil and other expenses, and its expenditure for the same purpose in the coming fiscal year is expected to go up by 60 million Birr, according to Comrade Kebede.

Comrade Kebede forecasts that expenditure on crude oil will continue to increase and that it would reach the 900 million Birr level after five years and the two billion Birr mark after 10 years.

Of the yearly total of oil consumed by the country, 240 million litres of refined oil is imported, and 640 million litres of refined oil is produced by the Oil Refinery.

Comrade Kebede said that the Assab Oil Refinery had attained targets set by the two phases of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign owing to the industriousness of its workers and certain changes in equipment effected with moderate expenditure.

Of the 300 million litres black naphta produced by the Refinery, 220 million litres is exported. Black naphta is employed in the processing of cement, tobacco, beverages and in factories with large boilers, the product is exported in large quantities because such processing industries in the country are limited in number, according to Comrade Kebede.

CSO: 4420/958

COFFEE-PANCREAS CANCER LINK SEEN AS DESTABILIZING MANEUVER

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 3 Apr 81 p 2

[Article by Yacob Wolde-Mariam]

[Text] Researchers at the Harvard School of Public Health claim to have found a 'statistical link' between drinking coffee and cancer of the pancreas. If these researchers are to be believed, half of the 20,000 deaths in the United States from cancer of the pancreas may be caused by coffee. However, there is ample reason to suspect that the alarm being raised by the researchers who had interviewed more than 1,000 patients is merely motivated by an intrinsic desire to harm the economic stability of Africa and Latin America by scaring away consumers from that balmy and aromatic beverage known as coffee.

If there are 10,000 deaths in the United States from cancer of the pancreas, how does one rule out the strong possibility that they could have been caused by the excessive consumption of coca-cola, milk-shake, aspirin, chewing-gum, chocolate, or even water? Indeed, why pick on coffee when a hundred and one other things are making their way into the American digestive system? Or, are we to believe that the 1,000 patients interviewed by the researchers at the Harvard School of Public Health have been subsisting purely on a diet of coffee until developing cancer of the pancreas?

For all one cares to fathom, the 1,000 patients interviewed by the researchers could have also developed cancer of the pancreas through certain hereditary and genetic factors. The patients could have been drinking too much coca-cola or taking an overdose of aspirin. One must also wonder to what extent the researchers have made assurances double sure that the unfortunate patients have not been drinking too much water or milk-shake. Who knows too if the patients have not been imbibing too much beer--or too much of that abominable stuff known as bourbon? I mean, why pick on a harmless foreign beverage like coffee as a scapegoat for a myriad other possible causes?

Coffee hasn't done our grand-fathers and grand-mothers any harm--although our venerable elders are consuming a beverage that is ten times more potent than the American muck from dawn to dusk.

CSO: 4420/958

BRIEFS

DEFENSE SQUAD GRADUATION--Jijiga (ENA)--Peasants and representatives of urban dwellers' associations from Jijiga province, Hararghe region, have graduated recently as revolution defence squad members on completion of a crash course in military training and political orientation. The revolution defence squad members numbering 463 were drawn from Harshin, Teferi Ber, Kebri Reyah and Jijiga districts as well as from Jijiga town. The course lasted for three months. Certificates to the graduates were handed over by Comrade Mola Zegeye, administrator of Jijiga province, at a ceremony held at Medega locality. Comrade Mola reminded the graduates of their responsibility to be ever vigilant in the defence of the revolution. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 10 Apr 81 p 3]

SURVEYING, MAPPING COURSE--Addis Ababa (ENA)--Surveyors and mapping technicians who completed a six-month training course in their field graduated here yesterday. The course was organized by the Ethiopian Mapping Institute. Comrade Tekola Dejene, First Deputy Secretary of the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC) and COPWE Central Committee member, handed over the certificates to the graduates at a ceremony held at the Institute's Headquarters. Comrade Tekola reminded the graduates that they have a big role to play in the country's economic construction endeavour and urged them to put up maximum effort to further upgrade their skills and knowledge. Earlier, Comrade Asfaw Fanta, General Manager of the Ethiopian Mapping Institute, spoke briefly on activities of the establishment since its reorganization recently. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 1 Apr 81 p 6]

CSO: 4420/958

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL DISAPPOINTMENT--The Ministers of State and other VIPs who had gathered at Kotoka Airport to welcome the Cuban Vice-President were left waiting for half an hour until it was learned that the plane was not going to touch down after all. Mr. Juan Almeida Bosque, the Cuban Vice-President had been expected to make a brief stop-over on his way to Freetown, Sierra Leone. He was due to have talks with the Ghanaian Vice-President, Dr. De Graft-Johnson. The Cuban ambassador to Ghana, Mr. Niel Ruiz Guerra, conveyed his regrets to the Ghanaian Foreign Minister over the non-appearance of Mr. Bosque. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 838]

CSO: 4420/968

CONTROVERSY SURROUNDS LESOTHO INQUIRY

Johannesburg THE VOICE OF THE VOICELESS in English 8-14 Apr 81 pp 1, 5

[Article by Amber Ndityana]

[Text]

IN AN attempt to return to democratic rule, the United Nations is reported to have appointed a special commission to lay the ground-work for the envisaged general elections in Lesotho.

This was revealed to THE VOICE by the Reverend K Serongoane of the Lesotho Orthodox Church. He is among those who fled Lesotho during last year's alleged atrocities by the Lesotho Police on supporters of Mr Ntsu Mokhehle's Basutoland Congress Party (BCP).

He, together with other Basotho exiles, have been living at a camp near Bethlehem in the Free State.

According to Mr Serongoane, the U.N. has commissioned him with the task of constituting a commission which would first of all, try to bring about reconciliation between exiled Mr Mokhehle, leader of the BCP, and the ruling National Party, led by Chief Leabua Jonathan.

Though Prime Minister Jonathan has announced that general elections would be preceded by a referendum. Mr Serongoane said this was not included in the U.N. mandate.

It would, therefore, he added, not receive the attention of his commission, to be known as the Commission of Memorandum.

The Commission, has already formulated a plan for the elections under the present circumstances.

It also believes it is only through the intervention of a third person, that the dispute between the two opposition parties can be settled.

The urgent call to the UN to intervene and the visit to Geneva by Mr Serongoane, where he presented Amnesty International with the outline of the Lesotho affairs followed.

A call was made to the Basotho nation by Prime Minister Jonathan, urging them to decide whether the country needed

general elections.

But the Commission believes that the organised elections, which would be acceptable to the people of Lesotho, would be those convened under the supervision of the United Nations.

The Commission has already received support for the peace talks, and more than 10 000 signatures have been taken.

Mr Serongoane fled Lesotho in 1974 with many others to Bethlehem, after the abortive '74 elections.

Meanwhile the Lesotho Government Information Department has denied knowledge of the Commission of Memorandum.

A spokesman for the Department said: "It's all news to us".

He refused to elaborate until he had consulted his superiors.

The Lesotho Foreign Affairs Department has declined to comment on Mr Serongoane's claim.

ALLOWING PEOPLE TO VOTE ON RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE URGED

London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 784

[Text]

APRIL 12 marks the first anniversary of the seizure of power in Liberia of Master Sergeant Samuel K. Doe. An article on the opposite page argues that economically there has been no "revolution". One of Master Sergeant Doe's first actions in power was to seek to reassure overseas investors that their rights would be respected. The United States under President Carter was quick to support him and the sending of a detachment of Green Berets to help train the Liberian Army is an indication that US support continues unchanged with the advent of the Reagan regime. The slogan "In the cause of the people" has not precluded the older reality of "Power to the multinationals".

What gains then have come from the trauma of April 12, culminating in the brutal execution on the beach of Barclay Training Camp of 13 men who had not been properly tried or sentenced? The main achievement is the death of the idea that a privileged minority — separated to a certain extent ethnically from the mass of the people — had the right to rule. Liberia was until April 12 last year suffering from a sort of concealed colonialism: an immigrant population had dominated an indigenous population. Both President Tubman and President Tolbert were conscious of the dangers of this and took steps to combat it,

with some success on the part of President Tolbert. However, they miscalculated the time that was available for gradual reform, in much the same way as the Afrikaners in South Africa are miscalculating the time that is available for the changes they may wish to introduce.

The men who died on the beach were condemned for "rampant corruption" and the new regime intended to end that. If it has succeeded permanently in doing so it will be the first military regime in the history of Africa that has proved to be totally incorrupt. Soldiers are not trained to be saints, and the temptations that power places before an absolute ruler are huge.

Master Sergeant Doe has not yet announced a timetable for the return of power to civilian government. The truth is that the longer a military regime remains in power the more difficult it becomes to return to the barracks.

The real question is who decides what is in the cause of the people. The ballot box has proved an imperfect instrument in the past: examples of an improbable 99 per cent of an oppressed people voting in favour of the government abound. However, it is the best instrument available. One elite has gone in Liberia. The people should be allowed a voice in their own cause before another elite entrenches itself.

CSO: 4420/962

PROGRESS SINCE DOE'S ACCESSION TO POWER REVIEWED

London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 pp 785-787

[Article by Nii K. Dentsi-Enchill]

[Text]

LIBERIA is in trouble, but no more and no less than other "underdeveloped" countries. Before the coup d'état of April 12, 1980, it was convenient to blame the Americo-Liberian elite for the fact that 3.9 per cent of the population enjoyed some 60.4 per cent of the national income, while 73.7 per cent of the people only had 24.6 per cent. This grossly unbalanced distribution of income is not unusual. Now that the people are nominally in power, it cannot be too long before it becomes clear that the real problem is not who is in power — what matters is the system of production, distribution and consumption in force. In simple terms, capitalism has got Liberia by the throat and it will not let go of its own accord.

At the time of the coup, about 90 per cent of the market value of goods and services in the economy was said to be controlled by external forces. It was also said that five-sevenths of all businesses was foreign-owned. From iron ore, the major export commodity in volume and value, the World Bank had estimated in 1973 that out of every dollar earned only 16 cents stayed in the country. The extremely "favourable investment climate" had only succeeded in concentrating investment in mineral extraction and cash crops (palm oil, coffee and cocoa began receiving attention in the latter half of the 1970s). There was high growth up until 1970 — the World Bank put the annual rate at 5.1 per cent between 1960-70 — but no development. The recession of the 1970s decade made the growth rate fall to an annual 1.5 per cent,

and demonstrated Liberia's extreme dependence on foreign suppliers, foreign markets, and foreign creditors.

The April 12 coup resulted in Liberia being caught in a classic squeeze where cash, credit and goods were drying up fast, while capital tried to flee. There was a 43.6 per cent drop in imports in the second quarter of 1980 over the previous year and a major reason was the new insistence on irrevocable letters of credit by suppliers. Since the slump in the iron ore market, revenue from import duties had gained greatly in importance, so this drop in import demand aggravated the PRC Government's financial position. By one estimate, some \$24m. or 20 per cent of deposits in the entire commercial bank network was transferred abroad after the coup. Business activity was momentarily suspended, and foreign investors (predominantly American) held their breath. What was at stake if not the unquestioned dominance of capital in a little West African country?

In theory, Liberia had a choice after April 12 last year between staying in the quicksand of structural distortion, or moving calmly towards the firm ground of integrated development of its human and natural resources in increasing independence from external stimulation. The choice remains open, but it is eventually an ideological choice requiring determination if the interests of the working people of Liberia are to be promoted.

In practice, there was no choice at all after the coup. The new government

affirmed its commitment to free enterprise and assured investors of a fine welcome. In the cause of the people, investment that utilised local raw materials, that was labour-intensive, that included training of Liberian top and middle-level management, and permitted equity participation would be preferred. Having eliminated the corruption involved in granting and awarding contracts, concessions during the Tolbert regime, the new government declared that the investment climate was more favourable than ever. Although corporate tax was increased, parity with the US dollar and generous terms of dividend and profit transfers were promised.

All this, however, was part of a holding action, as was the new government's first budget which is under the supervision of the IMF. The collaboration of this international institution was necessary to get bilateral loans flowing again. In return for a commitment to hold the budget deficit down to \$75m, the IMF gave standby credits of \$28m. for 1981-82, and \$57m. in 1982-83. Its supervision meant curtailment of some social welfare and development programmes.

In early 1981, the Paris Club agreed to reschedule \$34.4m. of Liberian foreign debt falling due between 1980-82 over a nine-year period — 10 per cent to be paid by 1985, the rest by 1990. Liberia had asked for 12 years rescheduling. Its foreign debt is currently about \$700m. and further rescheduling will obviously be necessary.

The budget was notable for making income tax more progressive, and for abolishing three levies on hut dwellers, as well as raising duties and surcharges on most imports. Another feature was the sale of public assets that was expected to raise \$6m. Government strategy was to simultaneously narrow the public sector (very inefficient in the past) and widen the private sector by inviting partnership in some public corporations. It was explained that the private sector had to be enlarged to absorb redundancies resulting from the planned dissolution of part of the public sector. This seemed a perilous course as unemployment was estimated at around 50 per cent in Monrovia last year.

The post-coup decision to raise the wages and salaries of military and civil service personnel revealed another unfortunate aspect of Liberia's situation. Public sector workers felt they should also have a pay rise, and this led to the unprecedented dismissals of port workers, and the PRC

decree making strikes illegal. With inflation accelerating from around 11 per cent before the coup to about 17 per cent by February this year, the government policy on wages will be tested as time goes on.

There is a recent story which describes quite comprehensively the problems of Liberia at this time when the people are meant to be in power. The Liberian Produce Marketing Corporation (LPMC) said it was in a financial squeeze and could now purchase farmers' produce only on an irregular basis. It said it had been importing rice at a cost of over \$22.50 per 100lb. bag but because of the PRC policy of keeping the consumer price at \$20, the LPMC lost \$2.50 on each bag. It said the government owed it \$4.5m. for this subsidy. Its \$10m. overdraft facility at the Citibank had been cut to \$6m. since April 12 last year, and the \$3m. of this which was for produce buying in Liberia was "practically nothing". The LPMC added that private businesses were not keen on importing rice if no subsidisation would be forthcoming.

One task facing the government is to lay a foundation for national self-sufficiency in rice, the staple foodstuff. Imports of foodstuffs jumped from \$56.8m. in 1977 to \$77.5m. in 1979. Rice was necessary to "stabilise" Liberia after April 14, 1979, and that must also be the reason why 23,900 tonnes, worth \$10m., have come from the US under the PL480 scheme since late 1980. But in its present situation the government cannot maintain this subsidy and an unbalanced wage policy indefinitely.

The only way out is priority attention to increasing domestic rice production (but still without increasing rural land pressure and proletarianisation).

The government has expressed its desire for better geographical spread of investment, and greater labour intensity. There is a Four-Year Plan currently under discussion, and it is expected to reflect a strategy giving some emphasis to integrated rural and community development. One facet of this is to develop local manufacturers in community schemes, an attempt at import-substitution at near artisanal level. Another facet is the sugar cane project for Maryland County making use of all the by-products of the cane.

There is also official interest in the Industrial Free Zone which is operational now. However, its impact on the Liberian economy is unlikely to be any more than other enclaves. The Free Zone incidentally illustrates one problem of investment: how do you get foreign capital in and prevent it

from making maximum profits to take out again'. There are grounds for pessimism. When the Tolbert government renegotiated the Firestone concession from one million acres down to 289,000 acres in 1979 and raised the rent from six to 50 cents an acre, other such concessions "offensive to national sovereignty" were left untouched in order not to "scare away" foreign capital. There are plenty of concessions due for renegotiation in the mining, timber, and cashcrop sectors, but when will the government be in a position to do it? There are grounds for pessimism.

What Liberia requires is a government with the ideological coherence to plan a programme of investment and development that is "in the cause of the people". Bearing in mind that before the coup 39 per cent of the population enjoyed 60.4 per cent of total income, consider an observation of the International Labour Organisation: "If we assume that the tendency to consume imported goods is higher among the rich than the poor, then the greater the degree in income distribution, the higher the demand for foreign goods and less foreign exchange is left for capital goods and intermediate products needed to expand employment". That is very relevant to Liberia today.

New potential

For what change has there been from the Tolbert regime to that of the People's Redemption Council? The change might have been in terms of potential, based on the fact that Liberia has now joined the rest of independent Africa at the stage of independence. But then, as if in a cinema flashback to the days of the Monrovia Group of African moderates, there was Master Sergeant Doe saying Liberia will not go either socialist or communist, but benevolent capitalism will do the trick. Then there was Commanding General Quiwonkpa warning people against "foreign elements" and their Liberian "sympathisers" trying to "introduce socialist and communist ideologies" to the Liberian people. The message from the two most respected men in the Liberian military unfortunately sounds exactly like what the late William Tolbert was saying. These warnings to progressive elements in Liberia come as a timely reminder that ideological struggle is persistent and pervasive, and is present in Liberia today.

This is not to say by any means that "that Sergeant Doe there and Quiwonkpa, they are not better than poor old Tolbert". It is freely said that since April 12, Master Sergeant Doe has grown into the role of Head of State with a great sense of responsibility and level-headed ability. It is also said that Gen. Quiwonkpa's stature has also been growing and they together have been a very constant and salutary influence on a People's Redemption Council that looked, at certain times, to be full of "cowboys". But this sense of commitment to the US as Liberia's best friend suggests that some people are not sure of what has got Liberia by the throat.

It was revealing that the Armed Forces Commanding General criticised communist countries which, he said, were more interested in "supplying arms and ammunition to African countries and were quick to take advantage of military takeovers and other national disturbances". He said Liberia was more interested in foodstuffs and medicine than arms and ammunition. In fact, the US has been supplying both "guns and butter". Its first aid package was rice for the people and equipment for the soldiers (20 lorries for \$1m and \$500,000 for house-building, plus another \$1.2m. for other training programmes). Congressman Richard Moose came down and looked around, went back and spelled out the fact that there was too much US investment (roughly \$600m.) to let Liberia get away.

Libya shunned

The US is trying to make sure that the military government in Monrovia is an ideological ally, which is why any approaches from Libya were shunned, which is why rumours fly about Soviet activities in Monrovia, which is why when personnel for literacy programmes were sent to Ethiopia by the Education Ministry, rumours flew about "guerrilla training".

A US State Department spokesman who announced the "goodwill visit" of the destroyer USS *Thorn* to Monrovia from April 12-15, and the follow-up training programme involving the Green Berets, beginning on April 16 for 30 days, declared that the grievances of Liberian soldiers over poor living conditions were "one of the sparks of the coup", and that the new government "has put emphasis on improving training and living conditions and morale of their military colleagues".

It must also be remembered that the April 12 coup only removed the topmost layer of what had been a long entrenched and very corrupt administration, not used to or interested in working "in the cause of the people". In fact, several positions of some influence are at present occupied by former members of the Tolbert administration and the True Whig Party. These included Ministers and Deputy Ministers of State, as well as advisers in both economic and political affairs, and heads of propaganda, television and broadcasting services. Some people have gone as far as to suggest that beneath the PRC, there is an administration that is the result of Baccus Matthews' call for a joint True Whig-People's Progressive Party government in March, 1980.

The problem in Liberia is not "going socialist or communist". It is how to serve the cause of the people. It is not right to start calling people "enemies of the Revolution" when there is not yet a revolution but only the aftermath of a *coup d'etat*. The People's Redemption Council have a job to do in tapping the progressive strength of Liberia's people.

CSO: 4420/962

BRIEFS

CLARIFICATION OF BANK CLOSURE--Master Sergeant Doe has said the closure of the Bank of Liberia was intended to safeguard the interests of depositors, foreign investors and the government. He said the People's Redemption Council was not bent on confiscating private organisations, but rather on correcting irregularities. The Head of State said the PRC would like to know why the Bank of Liberia could not survive after a government subsidy of \$22m. He had been informed that customers' deposits at the bank had been given out as loans to friends of the bank's executives and other officials of the Tolbert government, and these individuals had failed to settle their accounts with the bank. One source estimated that \$18m. had gone out in this way. This had resulted in continued government subsidisation of the bank, "yet the bank could not survive." Master Sergeant Doe said a committee would be appointed, composed of personnel from the Intrusco bank, Citibank, and the Chase Manhattan Bank to see if the Bank of Liberia could operate without government subsidy. If so, then the bank would be re-opened. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 838]

FRG PUBLIC UTILITY LOAN--West Germany is to lend Liberia \$11m. to improve public utilities. The agreement was signed in Monrovia by Dr. Togba-Nah Tipoteh, Minister of Economic Planning, and the Finance Minister, Mr. George K. Dunye, while Ambassador Thomas Troemel signed for West Germany. Herr Troemel said West Germany wanted to aid Liberia's military regime but it "awaited concrete objectives" from the new government. The \$11m. loan will go to rehabilitate an eastern Liberian port (the agency report did not say whether it was Greenville or Harper), to improve electricity and sewage services in Monrovia, and water supplies in Robertsport City. Part of the loan will also go towards rehabilitating a timber company. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 838]

POSSIBLE FRG MILITARY AID--Signing an agreement for the loan with Planning and Economic Minister, Dr. Togba Nah-Tipoteh West Germany wanted to aid Liberia's military regime, but it "awaited concrete objectives" from the new Government. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 838]

CUBAN-LIBERIAN RELATIONS--ELWA Radio said on April 1 that the Head of State, Master-Sergeant Doe, would use the first anniversary of the April 12 coup to announce the expulsion of Cuban military advisers "who are said to be currently in Liberia." The following day, the Cuban news agency, Prensa Latina, quoted Foreign Ministry officials as saying that "such an expulsion would be difficult to carry out because there have never been any Cuban advisers in Liberia." They

added that the report had been put about "to create difficulties for the Liberian Government and also for Cuban-Liberian relations." [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 838]

SOVIET DIPLOMAT'S STATUS VERIFIED--The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has denied a report in a local paper that Mr. Valentine Petrov, First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Monrovia, had been declared persona non grata and given 48 hours to leave owing to acts not in conformity with his diplomatic status. The Foreign Minister, Mr. G. Baccus Matthews, said in a press release that his Ministry could only confirm that the Soviet Embassy had informed it of Mr. Petrov's recall. The DAILY OBSERVER had alleged that although there had been no noticeable increase in the level of Soviet aid to Liberia, its Monrovia embassy staff had increased by 100 per cent since the April revolution, and that this was causing concern to the Liberian Government. The Ministry appealed to the press to seek verification on such matters so as not to undermine the government's efforts abroad. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 839]

CSO: 4420/962

RETURN OF GISELE RABESAHALA FROM MOSCOW REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 6 Mar 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Minister Gisele Rabesahala (Revolutionary Culture and Art) returned to the capital yesterday after having attended the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU]. She was welcomed upon her arrival at the airport by Supreme Revolutionary Councilor Arsene Ratsifehera, His Excellency Moussatov, the Soviet ambassador to Antananarivo, and other close collaborators led by Henri Romiliarison, the secretary-general of the Ministry of Revolutionary Art and Culture. Frederic Randriamamonjy, our ambassador to Moscow, also arrived on the same Aeroflot flight as the minister.

In the VIP lounge at Ivato airport, Minister Gisele Rabesahala held a short press conference in which she expressed her "satisfaction" with the "substance and organization of the congress." She knew what she was talking about, having also attended the 24th and 25th congresses of the CPSU. We recall that Minister Gisele Rabesahala represented the AKFM [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence] there, and Laurent Radaody, who stayed abroad a few days longer on his mission, was there on behalf of AREMA (Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution).

In these columns we have regularly published the principal reports coming from this great "twice a decade" meeting of the socialist world which just took place in Moscow. We have done the same with the main impressions gathered during the congress by Minister Gisele Rabesahala, who transmitted them to us by APN [expansion unknown] (see MADAGASCAR-MATIN of 3 March). So yesterday she gave the broad lines of her impressions.

Her Impressions

In terms of organization, she was struck by the number of foreign and Soviet participants, as well as the orderliness and the quality of the reception that was afforded them throughout the congress. On the funding problem, Comrade Gisele Rabesahala stated that this most recent congress of the CPSU had worldwide repercussions never before equalled with respect to the present world situation, the fragility of East-West detente, and also the most recent statements by the new U.S. president, Ronald Reagan, especially those made in the context of his inauguration.

Regarding a question close to our hearts--that of the aspiration of the states bordering the Indian Ocean to make of it a peace zone--the minister reported the

approval of the congress and the promise made by various chiefs of state--Leonid Brezhnev himself, in the first place--to give the problem the most detailed study. Comrade Gisele Rabesahala recalled the talks held by Leonid Brezhnev and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on the subject, that is, on the determination of Moscow and the socialist countries to work in this direction.

On the domestic front, the results of the congress permitted her to praise the Soviet people, who succeeded in "fulfilling the last 5-year plan." Over there, she said, when someone wants to do something, one buckles down to it seriously and succeeds. "These are not just empty words or decisions."

Factory Visited

She also spoke of her happiness at the chance to speak, in connection with the 26th CPSU Congress, to communist party members and the representatives of a large Moscow automobile building firm about the Malagasy socialist revolution.

Comrade Laurent Radaody, in turn, spoke to the same kind of audience, but this time it was at the Lenin Factory. Outside the congress, Minister Gisele Rabesahala held talks with members of the Cuban, Mozambican, and Syrian, etc communist parties.

Our Ambassador to Moscow Frederic Randriamamonjy also said he was encouraged by this recent congress and by the international attention it received. He was particularly struck by the high level of activity of the Soviet and foreign mass media : h, by means of modern systems of diffusion and transmission of news, were able to send the "Voice of Moscow" around the world in a very short time."

9516

CSO: 4400/947

MONIMA'S RETURN TO THE FRONT REPORTED

Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 12 Mar 81 pp 1-2

[Text] In our article yesterday which dealt with the return to the "Front" of Monja Jaona's MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIO, we posed a question regarding the possible fusion of that party with the MONIMA Socialist Movement [VSM] headed by Supreme Revolutionary Councilor Remanindry Jaona. In order to enlighten the public on this question, we had a talk in short spurts yesterday evening with several members of the political bureau of the MONIMA Socialist Movement, including Remanindry Jaona, Todiarivo Pierre, Rabearimanana Gabriel, and Razafindratandra Justin.

Very graciously these MONIMA Socialist Movement personalities made the following points:

"For the VSM, the reintegration of the MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIO with the FNDR [National Front for the Defense of the Revolution] poses no problems. Our party has established precise structures in the administration of its various areas of responsibility, structures which conform to those regulating progressive parties around the world, namely respect for hierarchy and democracy in all political activities undertaken by that revolutionary formation."

"For us, too, what is important is not whether Monja Jaona and his party are reintegrated into the "Front"; what seems urgent at the present juncture is to find immediate solutions to the economic problems confronting the masses. These economic problems, due partly to the economic crisis of the capitalist world, but also due to poor internal administration by some officials, were well described by President Didier Ratsiraka in his important speech on 16 January at Ambohitsorohitra.

"The possible merger of the VSM with MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIO is impossible, because our respective structures are fundamentally different. We have renovated the party mechanism, because it is a revolutionary formation that militates overtly, not clandestinely, to attain precise objectives with the other revolutionary parties that are members of the FNDR."

"The members of the VSM political bureau were not born yesterday. They all came from the MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIA. However, since 1977, they, having taken political realities into account, have gone a way different from that of the KA MIVIOMBIA.

It is history that must judge the political actions of each and all. Now when Monja Jaona's MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIO rejoins the Front, one asks oneself who was right and who was wrong.

"However, that may be, the important thing for us is to find effective solutions to the economic problems that weigh heavily on the life of the masses. Sincere and militant solidarity between the revolutionary formations that compose the Front is more than indispensable, for we are dealing with the highest interests of the Malagasy people. For the moment, the VSM and the MONIMA KA MIVIOMBIO are two separate parties. As for the single party which everyone wants, that is another matter.

9516

CSO: 4400/947

MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

SOALA IRON DEPOSITS--Halted last September, the second phase of the field study at Kizomby (Soalala) has resumed recently with the arrival in Antananarivo of Mr Serpillo, a metallurgist from the ITALSIDER Spa de Genes Company (Italy), to study Soalala's iron deposits. He has come to Madagascar to set up a metallurgical laboratory in collaboration with Mr Rakotomalala, head of the geology division in the Directorate of Industry and Mining, and his whole team. According to analyses made in West Germany and Italy and based on samples from Soalala, the Soalala iron ore is of excellent quality. "This is encouraging," we were told in confidence, for the results of the agglomeration and pelletification tests (preparation of ore pellets for the blast furnace) showed that this ore would be comparable and even better than Liberian or Canadian concentrates. At present Mr Serpillo and the Malagasy technicians are studying the metallurgical behavior of all kinds of mineralizations extracted from different soundings made during the second-phase campaign of the work at Kizomby. The initial results showed that enrichment of all these minerals is possible for the production of good industrial concentrates. Officials hope that between now and mid-March all the metallurgical work will be finished. Then the first official assessment can be made of everything that has been done up to now at Soalala which, along with Bemolanga, Moramanga and Andekaleka, constitutes one of the best hopes of our heavy industry. [Text] [Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN 11 Mar 81 pp 1-2] 9516

LIBYAN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION--On 20 March the Libyan-Malagasy Friendship Association was formed following approval of the project by the government and CSR [Supreme Revolutionary Council]. Its officials are: CSR Marojama Razanabahiny, honorary chairman; Minister Koussay Said Ali, chairman; Pierre Toliarivo, first vice chairman; Seramile, second vice chairman; Rajaoson, secretary general; Georges Heurtier, assistant secretary general; Leaby Jean Bosco, treasurer; and three assistant treasurers chosen from the AKFM-KDRSM party, and three councillors. The founding members are: CSR Arsene Ratsifehera, Marojama Razanabahiny, Mananady Rakotonirina, Solo Norbert Randriamorasata, Foreign Minister Christian Remi Richard, Information Minister Georges Ruffin, Labor Minister Radio Celestin, Population Minister Tiandraza Remi, Youth Minister Koussay Said Ali, National Assembly vice chairman Leaby Jean Bosco and the first secretary of the Libyan Embassy. [Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 21 Mar 81 p 2]

POLITICAL RISKS INVOLVED IN RECONSIDERATION OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Apr 81 p 5

[Article by Pierre Biarnes: "Bamako Hesitant To Reconsider Disastrous State Economy"]

[Excerpts] Bamako--Reflecting the country's economic situation, Bamako presents an increasingly dilapidated aspect except for a number of new buildings financed by foreign loans. Electricity is only available 2 or 3 hours a day, basic foodstuffs are very often only found on the black market at three or four times their official price.

Even without a drought, the production of cereals (about 750,000 tons) still represents, on the average, the equivalent of half the production obtained toward the end of the fifties. From a former exporter, Mali has now become an importer. Peanut production (about 200,000 tons 20 years ago) has almost disappeared. Commerce and industry, abandoned into the hands of poorly managed state companies and plethora and too often incompetent personnel, are ruining public finances instead of supporting them and constitute veritable bottomless wells. Thus the state is increasingly unable to face its obligations without the input of foreign subsidies which are continuously growing, but are still insufficient. Civil servants are paid ridiculously low salaries at irregular intervals and must therefore resort to an infinity of petty deals which provide the finishing touch to the foul-up of supply networks and other services.

Nevertheless, whenever the authorities have demonstrated velleities of reform, they have had to retreat when confronted with the slogan: "Do not touch the people's gains." In addition to the many tens of important traffickers, the approximately 300,000 persons (most of them state agents and their families) who constitute, on the whole, the "leading class" and who profit, in spite of everything, from this aberrant situation, are indeed persuaded of the fact that their interest lies in preserving the system, mindless of the rest of the population, numbering approximately 7 million rural residents. Students, all of them recipients of grants, all of them assured of a position in the civil service once their diploma has been obtained, can regularly be found at the forefront of this dubious struggle.

In an attempt to free himself from this situation, President Moussa Traore undertook to somewhat broaden his basis. But his UDPM [Democratic Union of the Malian People] was immediately "colonized" by the very people he was trying to rid himself of: at the top--and especially within the central executive bureau--those other military leaders of the 1968 coup d'etat enamored of their privileges, and lower down, mid-level prebendal civil servants. Thus the partial return to a "civilian" government has so far failed to produce any important reform.

Foreign Lenders' Pressure

Recently, however, feeling the pressure from Western lenders tired of throwing good money after bad, leaders have seemingly resolved to take the bull by the horns. Following the visit to Paris by President Traore at the end of January and the meeting of the mixed Franco-Malian commission, important basic decisions seem to have been made by the UDPM national council. First of all, near-total freedom would reportedly be granted to the commerce of cereals to induce peasants to produce more, thus also putting an end to black marketeering, while at the same time a parallel policy of salary stabilization would be conducted in order to soften the inevitable negative impact of these measures on the citizens. Moreover, state enterprises would be progressively abolished, or, if of "strategic importance" (water, electricity, air transportation, etc.), would be turned into mixed companies.

Finally, Mali, which had already reintegrated the franc zone as early as 1966 under Modibo Keita, would reenter the UMOA (West African Monetary Union), a move that presupposes that it accepts to use more rigorous methods in the management of its economy. In return, France, the IMF, the EEC and other Western and Arab countries would cancel most of the domestic and foreign debts, amounting to more than 300 billion Malian francs (3 billion French francs), not including about 100 billion owed to Eastern Bloc countries, specifically the Soviet Union, which is slowly repaying itself by exploiting its gold monopoly in Kalana.

Strong Resistance

These projects for a profound reorientation of the country's economic policy are encountering strong resistance. Indeed, the beneficiaries--big and small--of the failed system are numerous and many of them well-placed. In the background, the USSR, while less influential than during the Keita regime, can still count on strong advocates, and is looking at the upcoming evolution with a jaundiced eye. The "plot of the gendarmes," which was uncovered in December and recently ended with three death sentences could, in the view of some observers, be the result of a machination aimed at preventing too clear a departure from the line followed since independence. It must be admitted, moreover, that no reform has been officially announced to-date, to the extent that one could well ask, in Paris as in Brussels or Washington, whether Mali's partners are not at least in part indulging in wishful thinking.

True, leaders are increasingly finding themselves up against the wall, and they are fully aware of it. However, they also know that their country holds particular interest for the West, and especially for France, (in view of apparent oil and uranium deposits) because of its position at the heart of West Africa in a Sahel region threatened by destabilization. Why, they must be asking themselves, would they suddenly be treated with more severity today than at a time when threats were less evident? In return for the interest in the stability of this vast region, the cancellation of 3 billion French francs in "arrears" is not too unreasonable a price to pay. That is why the Bamako leaders are hesitating to incur a serious political risk by abolishing the disastrous state control of the economy.

CSO: 4400/1123

MAPUTO, BEIRA PORT IMPROVEMENTS SHOW SATISFACTORY RESULTS

Salisbury THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 10 Apr 81 p 7

[Text] Progress on the Mocambique ports is continuing and a number of improvements have substantially added to the ability of the ports of Beira and Maputo to handle Zimbabwean goods, says the latest bulletin released by Allen Wack and Shepherd.

Seventy-one Toyota lift trucks arrived in Maputo in February and 35 have been commissioned and are contributing towards a marked improvement in the port facilities.

A total of 12 shunting locomotives have also landed in Maputo releasing main line locomotives from shunting operations. Twelve more shunting locomotives are due to arrive at any moment.

Main Line

In addition, the authorities are expecting 20 main line locomotives, due to arrive at any moment, which should mean a surplus of equipment for all haulage requirements.

A British firm has submitted a proposal to finance and erect a crane to handle containers and to manage the overall container terminal.

Mocambique railways say they can handle up to four trains a day between Maputo and Chicualacuala. At the moment only one train, consisting of 2,000 gross tonnes, operates in each direction. CFM (Mocambique Railways) have also acquired 15 poclain trucks to discharge and load bulk materials on railway trucks. The major problem for the railway now seems to train suitable personnel quickly.

In Beira, six steam shunting locomotives and one diesel locomotive are operating. The port director expects four more from Maputo shortly. There are six main-line locomotives operating between Beira and Inhamatanda on the Beira-Machipanda line, and 12 locomotives are operating between Inhamantanda and Machipanda.

Traffic

CFM maintain that four trains could run per day if there was sufficient traffic.

All of Beira's 87 new fork lift trucks should be operating by the end of March and the port's tobacco fumigation plant is under repair.

The Government has also commissioned studies on the installation of a Central Control System on the Beira-Machipanda line, and a doubling line between Beira and Dondo, which is the junction between the Zimbabwe, Malawi and Moatoze routes.

A German team is scheduled to arrive in Beira to operate traffic movements and a French team will install a computerised tracking system.

Dredgers will soon be arriving in Beira from Maputo and Quelimane, and the roll-on/roll-off berth and container park at the port should be completed by the end of this month.

CSO: 4420/968

NEWSMAN REPORTS ON GRASSROOTS IMPROVEMENTS, GENERAL SITUATION

Johannesburg FRONTLINE in English Mar 81 pp 8-10

[Article by James North: "We Cannot Wait for the Government To Help"]

[Excerpts] For the most part, South Africans who visit post-revolution Mozambique are businessmen and officials. And they tend to come back with hair-raising stories of food queues, inefficiency and the terrible decline in service at the Polana Hotel. Freelance journalist James North sought out a different side of Mozambique, and found that not everything is going backwards...

Maputo is divided into two parts. The central section, called the "cement city" is the Lourenco Marques most tourists will fondly remember: wide streets lined with a colourful profusion of shrubs and trees; the sidewalk cafes; the stupendous view overlooking Delagoa Bay. Inland, past several miles of apartment blocks of steadily decreasing opulence, is Maputo's other, less presentable: the "reed city." Thousands of ramshackle jerry-built shacks of reed and thatch spill toward the north, criss-crossed by dusty, crooked streets.

The precise population of the reed city is unknown, but it contains at least half and possibly two-thirds, of the city's total one million people. In the colonial period, the cement city was largely reserved for whites, and the handful of blacks who repudiated their own culture and earned official approval as "assimilados."

As most of the whites fled, the Frelimo government nationalized rented property, lowered the rents, and moved thousands into town. Today, brightly coloured capulanas, the cotton shirts universally worn by black women, hang drying in the ocean breezes outside the flats once occupied by colonialists.

Julio Alberto Ubisse, an energetic, balding black man in his 40s, lives in Bairro Hulene, a section of the reed city near the airport which has about 35,000 residents. Ubisse realised that the new government, which was immediately beleaguered by the exodus of skilled workers, sabotage, and armed attacks from Ian Smith's Rhodesia, could afford to direct few resources to the bairro. So he and like-minded people among his neighbours took action themselves.

Ubisse and other members of the bairro's 'circulo,' or municipal Prelimo committee, described social life before independence as tense, individualist, and full of mutual suspicion--a situation that is common to many Third World shantytowns. "There were prostitutes. People were afraid to go out at night. Everyone lived apart."

Today, Hulene is totally organized down to the household level. Each group of ten families elects a responsavel (literally, a 'responsible'), who then represents them at the next highest level, the 'cell.' Each cell has between 600 and 2,000 members: together, the cells constitute the circulo. "A problem which the small group cannot handle is passed up to the cell, or higher," Ubisse explained. "It is a dynamic process, a new process."

Two of the eight circulo members were middle-aged women, who sat quietly together at one end of the wooden table. I directed my next question to them, a broad inquiry about the role of women in the bairro. They shifted shyly in their seats, glancing toward Ubisse for assistance.

The secretary paused, apparently discomfited, and then spoke again: "The women dynamize many things. Against prostitution. For sanitation. They fight against polygamy, which in the colonial time exploited women. They work in factories. They go on security patrols. They do everything men do now. Anything is possible when the women are organized."

Ubisse and the rest of the committee then took me on a walking tour of the bairro. One block up the sandy street, he pointed to a new, 30-foot water tank, from which water is pumped to many new taps. "We don't have to walk so far now," he said. The next stop was a spacious cultural hall, with a stage at one end. "We built it ourselves," Ubisse said. "We didn't ask anything from the government. We put on plays, concerts, showed films here and sold tickets to raise money."

He added with pride, "We even have a bank account. When we need money to improve the hall, we take it from there." The committee murmured with a sense of wonder; people like them now had bank accounts.

Ubisse guided us past a community workshop, where a few men were constructing cement washbasins; across a red, sandy plaza with a wooden platform at one end, used for bairro-wide meetings; then to a buyers' cooperative, which helps alleviate the intermittent shortages of essentials; and from there to the new market, which was clean and brimming with bright fresh vegetables.

Near the soccer field, some of the people in the bairro have set up two cooperatives which raise ducks and rabbits. Ubisse was upset that the rabbit shed was locked, but he eagerly encouraged me to peer between the wooden slats. "This is to overcome the problem of the shortage of meat," he explained.

The last stop--and in many ways the most impressive--was the clothing cooperative. A group of women produce capulanas and children's clothing and sell it locally. They have re-invested their earnings, and now own ten foot-powered sewing machines. "At night, the building becomes an adult education school," Ubisse said. "They learn to sew, sell, read and write--all in this same building."

It came time for me to depart. The committee was disappointed: I still had not seen the five new schools, four primary and one secondary; the libraries; the health clinic. They encouraged me to return another day. Ubiase offered a parting observation, "In a socialist country, one cannot wait for the government to help."

Hulene is a model bairro, and it has been described approvingly in the local press. Its achievements are almost certainly greater than average. There is little doubt, however, that in other bairros in the reed city; in the slowly increasing number of communal villages in the countryside: there is a sense of purpose and direction which the majority had never known before.

Five years after independence, the Republica Popular de Mozambique continues to face daunting problems, which have been aggravated recently by the widespread drought in the central and southern provinces.

Nonetheless, there is no significant opposition to the revolutionary government from anywhere within the country; there is no large sullen body of the disaffected. Frelimo is careful to explain why the problems persist and it openly admits its own mistakes. As a consequence, people in general do not hesitate to question this or that policy but they do not enlarge their criticisms into a condemnation of the system as a whole. (The Mozambique Resistance Movement, a small, right-wing band, is still carrying out attacks near Beira, but it could not survive without funding and support from outside the country.)

I travelled to Inhambane province, some 700 kilometres north of Maputo, to inspect the hardest-hit drought area. There were numerous roadblocks along the way. At each, Frelimo soldiers boarded the bus and politely checked everyone's documents.

The village of Cometela is some 30 miles inland from Vilanculos, the coastal resort town. The weeds in the village are so brittle from the drought that they crackle underfoot. The leaves on trees and bushes are stunted and shrivelled. There is a teasing hint of moisture in the air which just makes the suffocating heat more oppressive: it has rained only occasionally in the last two years.

The village committee told me the people go up to a week without eating. "No one has died, but our people are weak," the secretary said.

The secretary, a man in his 30s with the shy reserve of a peasant, explained that some emergency food aid does get through. But, he added, "Nao chega. It is not enough. The district sends us what it can, but many other zones are also affected."

Despite the drought, Cometela continues to organise itself. There are four 'circulos' here, the leaders of which are popularly elected. The resulting village committee then selects the secretary. Two mass organizations--one for women, the other for youth--are also functioning.

The village committee has already constructed a smart new wooden municipal building and organized open-air literacy classes. And before I left, the secretary, accompanied by the other committee members, guided me through the heat to the village's latest project. A group of men, drenched in sweat, were building Cometela's first school.

The growing number of Frelimo activists often remonstrate against the exploiters of the past, but they are always identified as "colonialists," never as "whites." In the part, the distinction is simply more accurate; some whites did support Frelimo. The current Minister of Security, Jacinto Veloso--in a very approximate sense he is Mozambique's Jimmy Kruger--stole a Portuguese military airplane flew it north to Tanzania, and pronounced himself in favour of the revolution. And a number of blacks actively supported the colonial regime.

Another reason for the distinction, though, is that Frelimo is absolutely determined to eradicate any vestiges of racial consciousness. It is equally opposed to lingering aspects of white racism and to any triumphant anti-white sentiment by blacks.

Frelimo's efforts have been remarkably successful. Only about one-tenth of the 230,000 whites who lived here in the colonial period have remained, but they have been accepted as full and equal citizens. Eight whites are presently in the Cabinet, which is a far higher percentage than would be there if the government were racially based. Whites do not suffer any kind of even informal retribution. In a wide-ranging tour of Mozambique, I never once encountered a hostile attitude from blacks, a hostile stare or an unkind word. A leading journalist, Leite Vasconcelos, who is white, said simply: "The ones who left were Portuguese. We are Mozambiquans. Racism has not entirely disappeared, but it is no longer a social problem."

In other areas of human rights, Mozambique's record is checkered. The "re-education camps" continue to exist. Though many prisoners have been released, others--probably several thousand--continue to be held, in some cases for serious crimes, in others apparently for drunkenness and absenteeism. Visitors to the camps say they are impressive in their humaneness, but they still have some uneasy implications.

The press is government-controlled, and at times it employs an irritating hectoring style to promote official policy.

Also, criticism of Samora Machel is definitely frowned upon, and the papers are often full of effusive praise. His birthday was heralded at length, and when the Frelimo army recently instituted ranks he emerged as a Marshal. He is a brilliant speaker and an undeniably impressive man, but one is still disturbed at the whiff of a personality cult that is growing up about him.

These misgivings--and others--should not be ignored. But they must be taken in context. Mozambique has been in a continual state of war until early 1980, and is still the occasional victim of armed attack. To people here, the inmates in the re-education camps are war criminals. The exhortations are

regrettable, but probably the inevitable accompaniment of a society which with drastically limited resources is attempting to transform itself. And the Frelimo government does undertake and promote a surprising degree of self-criticism.

Mozambique's economic problems are in large measure the legacy of colonialism. Until 1975, close to half the country's foreign exchange earnings came from two sources: remittances from the 100,000 miners a year who worked in South Africa, and rail and port charges for Rhodesian and South African goods. The number of miners has been cut back to under 40,000. Transport earnings also declined dramatically after Mozambique closed its border with Rhodesia. Many of the shortages can be traced to this lack of foreign exchange: the country grows no wheat, for instance, so there are queues for bread.

Still, the wildly exaggerated tales of starvation and chaos are simply untrue. Just as whites who leave South Africa have a psychological interest in promoting apocalyptic visions overseas to justify their own departure, so too do refugees from Mozambique find it difficult to admit that the revolutionary government is nowhere near collapse.

CSO: 4420/968

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

CAHORA BASSA SABOTAGE--On 19 April Mozambique charged that Pretoria was behind the sabotage of the high tension wires that transport electricity from the Mozambican Cahora Bassa dam to South Africa. According to the Mozambican Ministry of Energy and Industry, the sabotage was carried out on 3 April by a dissident movement supported by South Africa. The spokesman of the Portuguese company which manages the dam declared in Lisbon that the damage that occurred near Chimoio cannot be repaired because of the poor security prevailing in this central region of Mozambique. [Text] [Paris LE CONTINENT in French 22 Apr 81 p 4]

BRITISH AID--Great Britain has granted Mozambique the amount of \$23 million, John Kerby, chief of the Eastern and Central Africa Section of the British Ministry of Development, announced on 15 April. [Text] [Paris LE CONTINENT in French 17 Apr 81 p 3]

CSO: 4400/1110

BRIEFS

TV CAMPAIGN AGAINST ILLITERACY--During the 1980's a campaign against illiteracy is to be waged, and the people of Niger will learn to read and write in their national languages. Every year people go to school to get educated. The ability to read is worthwhile since it facilitates their work, whether it be farming, stockbreeding, water conservation, or public health service. Their work benefits from their education. In the interests of national progress the government took the initiative of promoting televised instruction in the three R's, beginning in December 1980. Anyone with a TV set can see these programs, provided they are within a 100-kilometer radius of the TV station transmitting the programs to them. Next April the inhabitants of Difa and Agadez will start receiving the lessons. Televised instruction in the three R's not only facilitates the anti-illiteracy campaign, it benefits everyone: worker, student, official. And the uneducated have to be taught to read and write in their own languages. So, we entreat all who are educated to help their brothers who remain illiterate. Let us cooperate to rid our nation of illiteracy and improve everyone's condition. [Text] [Niamey NIGERAMA (supplement to SAHEL HEBDO) in Hausa 15 Apr 81 p 73]

CSO: 4407/36

INCREASED RELATIONS WITH SOUTH KOREA NOTED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 8 Apr 81 p 8

[Article by Obika Ilonwa]

[Text] Only a few outside the diplomatic community would recognize the significance of the progress being made in Nigeria's relations with the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

The start was made in February last year, when the Shagari Government decided to establish diplomatic relations with South Korea, thus rectifying the abnormality of having relations only with one part of Korea, namely, North Korea.

The decision to enter into relations with South Korea was not only accepted by the diplomatic elite in the light of Nigeria's non-alignment policy, but welcomed by Nigerian entrepreneurs who had an eye on South Korea's remarkable performance in trade and development.

At the diplomatic level, apart from the fact that Nigeria's non-aligned status requires its relationships with both Koreas, South Korea deserves the official relationship on the account that it holds two thirds of the whole population of the Korean peninsula, enjoys diplomatic relations with about one hundred nations of the world, and plays an active role in international organisations (both Koreas are not members of the United Nations yet).

At the economic level, South Korea is a model developing country which attained a self-reliant economy, having successfully implemented series of industrialisation programme and its own brand of green revolution.

Given all these it is no wonder that Nigeria's Minister of External Affairs, Professor Ishaya Audu, returned from an official visit to South Korea last February highly impressed with what he saw and convinced that Nigeria and South Korea had a wide range of areas of cooperation to the mutual benefit of each other. There has been an increase in the exchange of visits between the two countries.

Self-Sufficiency

South Korea, being a developing country which like Nigeria has passed through the burden of a colonial past, is in a position to help Nigeria develop her industries and achieve self-sufficiency in agriculture.

South Korea has had its own share of national suffering and struggling to attain what it has today. Korea had a civil war of its own in 1950-53. Korea, being historically one state until it was divided into two parts artificially in 1945 as in the case of Germany, had a fratricidal war between South and North, unleashed by the impatient revolutionary zeal of North Korea.

The war turned South Korea into ashes and the vicious cycle of poverty and instability ruled until in 1961 when the late President Pak challenged the fate of poverty and put up a slogan of self-help, hard work and unity (cooperation).

The campaign might well be called a struggle for survival because South Korea had a dual task of military preparedness and economic development.

Economic development was geared into the strategy of national survival or national survival dictated the economic development. This is how Koreans came to be known as one of the world's most hard-working people.

Korea is fatefully situated among three major powers--China, Soviet Union and Japan. These major powers alternately cajoled, harrassed or dominated Korea in their jockeying for power in the Far East, until it was divided into two--South and North in 1945.

But Korea, having maintained its cultural identity and historic independence, remains one nation except politically and should be united into one. Both Koreas are eager to get united and try to keep the aspiration for unification aflame. Ideology sets them apart and the chasm seems wide.

South Korea believes in peaceful and productive dialogue addressed to family reunion, trade, non-aggression pact, and finally schemes for reunification, which has to be peaceful.

President Chon Tu-hwan, who was elected last February for a seven-year term, proposed a summit meeting of two Presidents of both South and North, dramatizing his commitment to peaceful dialogue.

Elaborating on the scheme for peaceful unification, South Korean Ambassador to Nigeria, Mr. Yim Tong-won said to this reporter that a war could not be justified as a means towards unification, for a war would increase antagonism among the people and, therefore, make national integration much more difficult.

Nigeria, with its bitter memory of civil war and its professed dedication to peace, is in an advantageous position to give counsel to both Koreas not to repeat the tragedy of fratricidal war either in the name of revolution or reunification.

South Korea is active in Black Africa as in other parts of the world. It has embassies in Senegal, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Mauritania, Sierra Leone, Upper Volta, Cameroun, CAR, Gabon, Zaire and Nigeria.

South Korea explores all possibilities of trade and economic cooperation with these countries. In this process, she appreciates what Africa stands for--economic as well as political independence--and is fully committed to the ideals of basic human rights--eradication of racial discrimination and apartheid.

CSO: 4420/955

PROPER CENSUS ADVOCATED, REASONS LISTED

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 13 Apr 81 p 3

[Editorial: "Towards Another Census"]

[Text]

WHILE swearing-in members of the National Population Commission in Lagos last week, President Shagari made some comments which touched on the conscience of the nation and all efforts to achieve a reliable population census for the country.

According to the President, "we should not fold our arms and helplessly succumb to failure in a duty that belongs to us and our generation." The President also expressed his administration's conviction that a census enumeration was necessary and desirable.

In 1963 and 1973, attempts made to conduct head counts in this country generated so much controversy. The tension that attended the exercise then made our hearts leap. Yet, all right-thinking people agree on the need for an up-to-date population census for various reasons.

In the first place, the exercise is an important source of information on the basic demographic trends in the country. The rate of growth, urbanisation and age and sex structures and occupational variation can only be properly assessed when there is an adequate and reliable population census.

Furthermore, it provides information on the standard of living, education and employment. It is also essential for the

drawing of samples for all sorts of surveys, the computation of birth and death rates and the analysis of economic development.

We believe that the best way to tackle a problem is not by running away from it. With the inauguration of the National Population Commission, every Nigerian must search his conscience and resolve to contribute meaningfully to a successful head-count. The first task in this direction would be for the people to recognise that there is no need to unduly politicise the census exercise. If we have learnt any lesson from history, it should include the admission of the fact that those charged with specific national assignments must be left alone to do their duty to the best of their ability and conscience.

The necessary procedure for planning and conducting the exercise must be adopted and our people need to change their attitude on the issue.

The President's concern about the need to arrive at "acceptable census figures" is understandable and we have no doubt that for this desire to be realised, the National Population Commission and various arms of Government at the Federal and State levels, have a crucial role to play in seeing to it that sources of controversy are eliminated as much as possible. This is a duty they owe to the nation and humanity.

CSO: 4420/956

GOVERNMENT ADVISED ON OIL REVENUES

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 13 Apr 81 pp 20-21

[Text]

THE Petroleum and Natural Gas Senior Staff Association of Nigeria, (PENGASSAN) has called on the Federal Government to invest oil revenues in agro-based industries in order to strengthen economic independence of the country.

Resolutions adopted at the end of a conference of the association held in Port Harcourt, Rivers State, also urged the Federal Government to compel oil companies in the country to intensify the Nigerianisation of top posts in the oil company so as not to leave vital oil sector perpetually under the managerial and technical control of foreigners.

The association stressed the need for urgent transfer of oil technology to Nigerians through the establishment of comprehensive laboratory research centres in Nigeria, instead of always relying on research centres of oil companies abroad for analysis of data and storage of vital technical information.

On Nigerianisation, the association emphasised the need to appoint

qualified and capable Nigerians with full responsibilities to handle technical aspects of the oil industry. It expressed opposition to the practice of giving jobs to expatriates at the expense of qualified Nigerians.

The association congratulated the Federal Government for its efforts to ensure profitable utilisation of abundant petroleum gas reserves through the Denny Liquefied Natural Gas project. It however urged the Federal Government to ensure speedy completion of the project.

An appeal was made to the government to amend the Enterprises Promotion Act to enable members of the association and other Nigerians to own shares in crude oil prospecting and producing companies.

Earlier, the association had appealed to the Federal Government to consult its officers before formulating policies in the oil industry since they would be involved in the implementation of such policies.

CSO: 4420/956

GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN WITH OIL COMPANIES

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 10 Apr 81 p 1

[Article by Odafe Othihiwa]

[Text]

CRUCIAL talks have opened in Lagos between the Federal Government and three major oil companies for the recovery of all crude oil lifted over and above the companies' equity shares between 1975 and 1978.

The oil firms — Shell, Mobil and Gulf — were directed last year to make available to the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) their shares of 182,962,164 barrels of crude oil accruing to them.

The order, in a government White Paper, followed the report of the tribunal of inquiry into crude oil sales, prompted by widespread charges that \$2.8 billion was lost from the NNPC accounts.

'Co-operation'

Well informed sources said that the

NNPC was negotiating for the Federal Government.

Details of the negotiations have not been made public, but the talks are said to be going on smoothly.

Commenting on the talks, a top Shell official, Mr. F. I. Amosa, manager, Lagos operating and public affairs, said: "We are actively co-operating with the government on this matter."

"Discussions are still going on with the NNPC, which is co-ordinating on behalf of the government as well as the oil companies."

"We hope this matter will be resolved once and for all."

Another top official of Gulf Oil Company confirmed the on-going talks, but declined to give details until a final

agreement was reached.

The acting manager, public affairs of the NNPC, Dr. Nyobodo, said he was not in possession of the facts related to the negotiation.

In a television interview early this year, the acting managing director of the NNPC, Mr. O. Lolomari, gave assurance that necessary machinery would be set in motion to implement the decisions of the Irikhe panel.

Mr. Lolomari also said that, during the implementation process, the NNPC would recover the 182,962,164 barrels of its programmed share of equity crude oil between 1975 and 1978, from Shell, Gulf and Mobil oil companies.

TIV-SPEAKING GROUP BANNED FOR LAWLESSNESS

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 13 Apr 81 p 31

[Article by Gabriel Amobeda]

[Text] An organisation in the Tiv-speaking area of Benue State called 'Corchan' has been outlawed by the Benue State Government.

The organisation, according to reports reaching security forces and the State Government had caused havocs including acts of lawlessness, robbery, looting, and deliberate destruction of farm crops.

Denouncing the organisation at a news conference in Makurdi, the State Governor, Mr. Aper Aku, said his government would not tolerate acts of lawlessness capable of precipitating civil unrest in the state.

He told newsmen that members of the group had been claiming to have derived its authority from the government. He warned that he would spare no efforts in ensuring that the gang was completely smashed.

Governor Aku said his administration has mounted operations with the state Police Command with a view to curbing the ugly activities of the group.

He said that certain political parties would want to associate the ruling party (NPN) with the acts of brigandage of the group.

He said that the father of a secretary to a local government area had fallen victim to the notorious group.

Mr. Aku said that the 'corchan,' according to investigations, was made up of criminals who had no clear political party affiliations.

Reports had it that wealthy members of the society directed the activities of the group. Reports also said the group sometimes appear in uniform in some major towns of the Tiv-speaking areas to report their activities to their masters and to take further instructions.

BRIEFS

ANTICORRUPTION DRIVE--President Abdou Diouf announced that he would launch a drive to stamp out corruption, opportunism and string-pulling within the ruling Senegalese Socialist Party. M. Diouf told the party's national council yesterday that he would ensure that grass-roots party militants would be able to choose their leaders and party policy, within the framework of the party doctrine and programme. He would ensure unity, discipline and above all democracy, so that the general interest would be respected over and above individual or factional interest in a renovated party, he added. M. Diouf, addressing the Council for the first time since he replaced Leopold Sedar Senghor as President and Party General Secretary in January, said the changes would help with the implementation of the country's five-year industrial development plan. It would also help the party meet the challenge from new political parties to be sanctioned under a forthcoming constitutional amendment, he added. [Text] [London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 p 841]

CSO: 4420/962

NATION PREPARES FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS

London WEST AFRICA in English 13 Apr 81 pp 796-97

{Text}

SIERRA LEONE is to hold a general election this year. It will be the first since the country became a one-party state in 1977. The five-year term of the present parliament should end about mid-June this year; already the government has revised and updated the voters register. This sign of an impending election has been reinforced by statements by President Stevens and first Vice-President S. I. Koroma, that the nation should gear itself for a General Election. The Vice-President also said that in the next election there will be no place for unopposed candidates; all voters will have the chance to decide on their particular choice. During the 1977 elections, however, Dr. Abdulai Conteh, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Thaimu Bangura, the Social Welfare Minister, Mr. Abdul Karim Koroma, the Education Minister and Mr. I. M. Fofanna, the Development Minister, were all returned unopposed from the Port Loko district of Vice-President S. I. Koroma.

Ending the practice of returning unopposed candidates is a feature of the republican one-party constitution, which provides for a primary election, at which only members of a constituency executive will ballot on a number of candidates and only the two candidates with the highest number of votes will be ratified by the APC's Central Committee and forwarded to the electorate at the general election.

Some observers have predicted that the election will be held in October, but a senior Government Minister is on record as saying that October is not a month in which elections are held in Sierra Leone. It is strongly believed, though not officially announced, that May 25 is the date most favoured for the election.

Unconfirmed reports say fierce and sometimes violent pre-electioneering campaigning is now going on in parts of Freetown and the provinces. It is reported that a man was wounded with a machete in Lungi, the airport town 22 miles from Freetown, at a political meeting.

Observers in Freetown say the electorate will have little choice in the selection of candidates, who will come from the stables of the only party, the APC. There is no possibility of independent candidates contesting the election, like Mr. Desmond Luke did in 1972. Only members of the APC are eligible.

Some observers have alleged that the election is not the result of a sincere desire to weed out and rid parliament of a number of unsatisfactory MPs or a conscious response to demands by the people of Sierra Leone but is merely to divert attention from some serious domestic issues and to avoid or minimise the acute embarrassment to the government from the "Vouchergate" scandal and the rumblings of Sierra Leoneans on the possible outcome. The continued presence in Parliament of the former Agriculture Minister, Mr. S. A. T. Koroma, after being convicted at a Freetown Magistrate's court is often brought up when the morality and credibility of the Sierra Leone government is being discussed.

The 1981 election, if and when it is held, will give rise to some interesting situations. The political careers of many incumbents will be eclipsed and some old hands kept out in the 1977 elections might make a strong bid to return to the house. The Kono District, whose citizens have been expressing some dissatisfaction about

government treatment, might send back to Parliament Mr. Gandhi Capio, the former Energy and Power Minister and Mr. S. G. Fanta, who was leader of the backbenchers' association. It is widely believed that Mr. S. B. Kawusu-Jonkeh, former Mines Minister and a favourite of President Stevens, who lost his parliamentary seat to Mr. S. B. Mara, would come back to Parliament, whilst there are strong indications that two former SLPP men, who joined the APC, before the declaration of a one-party state, Mr. Emanuel Grant and Mr. Mana Kpaka, will not receive the party's approval to contest the next elections. The absence of Mr. Grant will make way for the return to Parliament of Mr. J. Hudson-Taylor, the former Health Minister, while former Mayor of Freetown, Mrs. June Holt-Roness, will occupy the constituency seat of Mr. Desmond Luke, who is said to be more interested in his private affairs than in party or political activities. Mr. Luke's split with the APC seems absolute. His MP's salary for a number of months was held back because, it was said, he was not attending Parliament and took little or no part in Party activities.

What might cause controversy is the report that Mr. Alfred Akibo-Betts, Minister of State, Finance, who played a big part in exposing 'Vouchergate', will seek re-election not from his Freetown Constituency, which is being handed over to First Vice-President S. I. Koroma, but from the York seat of Mr. Dalton F. Shears, Minister of Tourism.

Amongst the hopeful candidates will be the veteran politician, Mr. M. S. Mustapha, who will contest from the Southern Provincial Town of Bo. Bo is unique in that it is still said to have strong pro-SLPP sympathies and has hardly any candidates of their choice in the present parliament. Their elected MPs were in detention when a parliamentary committee ruled that they had been absent from parliament without reasonable cause; reasonable cause,

according to the terms of the commission, was being absent on government business or illness and did not include being detained by the government.

It is not clear, however, what the issues are that Sierra Leoneans will be voting for. Some people have speculated that a new Parliament is needed to spearhead moves to make President Stevens President for Life. In any event, the question of a successor to the President is as confused as ever. Names have been bandied about and it is said that a new entrant to the race has emerged in the person of Dr. S. S. Banya, the Finance Minister. He joins the Vice-President's S. I. Kotoma and C. A. Kamara-Taylor — the latter is rarely mentioned now — Mr. F. M. Minah, the former Finance Minister, and others still biding their time to make a bid for the party's leadership.

Sierra Leone needs a virile and dynamic Parliament, which might challenge some of the economic and social policies of the Government. The quality and calibre of the politicians will have to be beyond question if the new Parliament should make any significant impact on the country's economic and political life. The election will help to forestal the formation of underground parties and counter the threat of unconstitutional opposition expressed by parties out of the country; the Sierra Leone government, however, has often vigorously denied that these parties pose any serious threat to the existence of the APC or the one-party government of President Stevens.

Whatever the outcome of the election, the government, aware of the pressures and demands for radical reforms, is likely to make at least some changes in the way it is running the country. The prevailing mood and the willingness of the students to mirror the thinking of the people is always recognised by President Siaka Stevens, if not by other members of the APC and they make no secret of their desire for change.

PARALLELS BETWEEN BRIXTON, MIAMI, SOWETO DISCUSSED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 15 Apr 81 p 8

[Editorial: "There Will Be Many More Brixtons"]

[Text]

THE tragedy of the riots which hit Britain over the past four days is that people in similar race situations will not learn from such bitter experiences.

Indeed, right here in South Africa, some people are saying "well, we told you multiracialism does not work", and pointing out that if a "suburb" in Britain can blow up, what more can be expected here, where the blacks are in the majority?

Unfortunately, a great many people miss the point of the British experience. And the American experience in Miami, too.

It is precisely because they are doing the same thing the South African Government does that those explosions occurred. Herding people together in poverty-stricken situations, away from the elite and denied employment as job preferences are given to whites.

Brixton is certainly no different from Soweto. Both are ghettos. Both are teeming with youths who have run out of patience with the establishment because they have been frustrated in their attempts to find work. In both, at every turn they will be stopped by police on suspicion of having committed crimes, or, as is the case in Britain, suspected of having plans to commit crime.

(What is known as the "Sus Law".)

There are not many "Brixtons" in Britain. But there are many Sowetos in South Africa, which certainly makes our situation that much more urgent.

This is actually what the problem is. We must find a way to avoid building Sowetos. We must find ways to avoid the frustrations of the youth. We must find jobs for people, and forget about the mythical "economic boom", because few people really feel it in terms of rands and cents.

But of course, it has been said so often, and so often nothing has been done about it. People here still want to believe that South Africa is on the right track; That people of different cultures and backgrounds cannot live peacefully together; That only the balkanisation of the country can bring lasting peace to this troubled region. In short, we are refusing to learn the lessons of history.

There will be many more Brixtons and Miamis. But they will be there because of separation and discrimination, and not the other way round. And it will be because of separation and discrimination that we will have Soweto '76s, Tembisa, Langa, Sharpeville, Port Elizabeth and so on.

AZAPO ISSUES STATEMENT ON DETENTION OF MEMBERS

Tembisa Rent Issue

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 9 Apr 81 p 4

[Article by Sello Rabothata and Charles Mogale]

[Text]

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday issued a scathing statement against the detention of four of its executive members at the weekend.

The detained members are Mr Khehla Mthembu (president), Mr George Wauchope (publicly secretary), Mr Thabo Ndabeni (national organiser) and Mr Mlungisi Mavana (general secretary).

The statement released by Azapo said: "If as the police directorate says Azapo leaders are held in connection with the disturbances at Tembisa, then we challenge them to charge our people in a court of law. The police action in Tembisa was provocative and when the people reacted the blame is put on 'agitators'."

"Tembisa is the result of the so-called Government Group Areas Act which they can no longer finance. Now they are calling upon our people to finance a monster that is not of their creation.

"We believe that such actions are perpetrated to:

- Let the white regime celebrate their 21st anniversary of the Republic run smoothly.
- To assure the electorate that the Government is tough.
- To lend credibility to built-up puppet leaders like the community councils who will have a field day in enforcing rent hikes in the absence of the people's authentic leaders.
- To build stability for overseas artists like the O'Jays who will be performing while the black

masses are mourning events at Tembisa and detentions.

- To intimidate our people.

"We in Azapo are convinced that our struggle is a legitimate one and we shall continue undeterred by intimidations," the statement concluded.

Others detained at the weekend are: Miss Amanda Kwadi of the Women's Federation; former Black Peoples Convention (BPC) officials, Mr Mogale Segale and Mr James Moleyo, Tembisa Residents' Action Committee's Miss Dorothy

Mathabathe and Mr David Nkosi.

Mr Tlali Lekganyane, and Mr William Ndupo were also reported to be in detention as a result of the weekend raids.

Meanwhile the Soweto Committee of Ten has pledged support for anti-rent increase organisations in Tembisa and the Vaal.

In a hard-hitting statement issued by the Ten's executive member Mr Tom Manthata yesterday, the "white regime" was blamed for the weekend upheavals.

"The detention and harassment of black leadership was coldbloodedness exhibited to catch a vote and to impute the anti-rent upheaval to any specific leadership or organisation was despicable folly and deliberate political narrow mindedness.

"The reality of the anti-rent anger among the black people is that the

war is waged by all rent payers. Black people know and are incensed by the fact that they maintain all the white cities through their labour and buying power in the city shops, from the dirtiest restaurant, "Tshisa-nyama" to the loftiest stock exchange office, and that they maintain the Government through their savings accounts and the general sales tax.

"Black people know, and the entire civilised world does, that no city or hamlet can be maintained exclusively from rentals. Even the motivation to pay the rentals among the black people becomes too low and can only be maintained by cohesion as long as people are denied freedom rights and are told expressly that they do not belong where they are," the Ten's statement concluded.

Further Detention

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Apr 81 p 8

[Excerpt] Another Azapo member, Mr Duke More of Springs, is being detained in terms of security legislation, police confirmed yesterday.

Mr. More, a member of the KwaThema branch of Azapo was detained at the weekend.

CSO: 4420

STATUS OF BLACK LIBERATION MOVEMENT DISCUSSED

Johannesburg THE VOICE OF THE VOICELESS in English 1-7 Apr 81 p 15

["Debating Forum": Article by Chris Madigeng Mokoditsoa, former vice president of the banned Black People's Convention]

[Text]

IN SOUTH Africa there are three Black liberation movements: the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Black People's Convention.

There can be no doubt that at some stage or other, each of these experienced internal disputes threatening to wreck and ruin them.

But to date none of such internal difficulties and problems have wrecked any of them. In fact they have emerged more purified and more determined.

In as far as these movements are concerned, one does not discern any loss of direction by its leadership or the organisations themselves. The enemy-propaganda has on numerous occasions magnified insignificant events to examine division within the movements, with a view to total dislocation and possible destruction.

The enemy has done this through the Press and through its well-trained agents.

With regard to these movements, I cannot recollect any mudslinging from any quarter. In fact this is not publicly possible as the ANC, PAC and BPC are banned and cannot locally engage in sling-ing mud, as they would not get any publicity.

With regard to these, I have no doubt they are clear about their direction and their goal.

I also have no doubt that the claim of unity approaches made by the PAC leaders are not entirely unfounded though the prospect for such unity may be a little remote.

Such unity is, however, still feasible and one rejoices that the top leadership realises its need, and are fully aware of the stumbling blocks towards achieving same.

Bickering by the Black leadership of these movements is not entirely

ruled out, but neither is it so dangerously unhealthy.

This is only ascribable to human nature and Black leaders are as imperfect as any other leaders in the world.

There is no doubt that these movements have a common enemy which is the capitalist system, oppressor; the exploiters and imperialists.

These organisations are, to my mind the kingpins of the liberation struggle. While I would like to see unity and oneness, I appreciate their parall existence. They are in many ways complimentary to each other.

As far as other cultural, social, civic, religious and academic organisations are concerned, one notices a high degree of loss of direction both in their leadership and in the organisations.

CONFUSED

Organisations led by confused, naive and

selfish leaderships are bound to lose direction — if ever it had one at the inception.

Such organisations abound in this country among Blacks, because their leaderships are motivated by self aggrandisement, and, possibly, material gain. Dissention is bound to come up as soon as some genuine leadership and people with well-motivated intentions challenge such leadership.

It is as a result of fear of being ousted from positions that lead to such leadership to spread malicious and unfounded gossip about their fellow members.

Such leadership is found in the church, soccer, women's organisations, professional people's associations, etc.

Once internal dissent has manifested itself, it results in the organisation's leadership trying for a cover-up of their own failures, by concentrating on the activities of other organisations. And, indulging in criticism of others with a view to gaining more acceptance than delivering the goods.

The majority of the leadership currently running Black organisations are not genuine and sincere.

It is the material benefits that induce most to take leadership.

It is also in some cases the prestige that goes with the positions instead of the dedication to ideals and aspirations of the particular organisation. The publicity that one gets as a

leader of some organisations is incentive enough to make some people aspire for top leadership positions.

It is true that many a time members of the same movement such as Black consciousness movement, publicly and through the Press, cast aspirations on the leaderships of other fellow organisations.

This results in the other group leader in turn slinging back the mud.

It is in this instance where one actually finds that the leadership competes with that of the others in trying to show that they are more thoughtful, dedicated and Blacker than the others. Implying, more dedication and relevance than the others.

LOST

There is no doubt that some such leaderships have lost sight of the real issues; some are just naturally unfit and incompetent for their leadership role, due to their motivation and sincerity.

Some are possibly plants of the enemy whose intentions are to wreck and destabilise the organisations.

One cannot therefore, generalise and say they lost sight. Some never had, while others deliberately and calculatedly lose sight again for material benefits.

The real enemy of the Black man, in my view, is the capitalist system normally referred to only as

the "system". This is interrelated and is represented obviously as the White man.

Agents of this system are even more dangerous as most are within the oppressed Black group, and adopt various tactics taught by their capitalist masters.

They are in some cases unwittingly or deliberately propped up by the system, and infiltrate the Black movements on behalf of their masters.

Their masters are personally unable to do so, especially in these days of Black exclusiveness.

Such system agents are clearly defined in the regional directors of the Transkei, BophuthaTswana and Vendaland.

I decline to call them bantustan heads, presidents or prime ministers, as I would be recognising their regions as independent states if I did.

Not all of the enemy's agents can be pointed out as his tentacles spread widely, even beyond our borders. Like those who ignore the Black man's suffering and seek their own gain regardless of the cost to Black human life. And those who pretend to be identifying with the Black man, but prescribe what is food for the Blacks not withstanding his shout to the country. On trade for instance...

LIBERALS

Those liberals who go out to prove to the Black man to what extent there

have been changes even where the Blacks do not see or feel any.

The Press, which is used to propagate and promote and instil the negative ideas about himself, in the Black man, to twist the truth in such a subtle and unperceptive manner such as to talk of Black Africa as if there is White Africa; to show how much Africa is dependent on South Africa for its food requirements; to promote certain questionable leadership with a view to fostering such leadership on the Black people.

The television, which portrays and reports entirely White news, except those of its agents, and gives the impression that Blacks do not exist here.

BLACK UNITY

I must first state that by Black unity, I exclude all system-orientated organisations and their prefects normally elevated to leadership. I do not envisage any unity to include such as already shown above.

They are agents of the system which is the enemy of the people. They are themselves the system.

When one talks of unity in waging the liberation struggle and in striving for unity, one is only considering organisations and their leadership who share the same aspirations. That is the total and real libera-

tion of the Black man.

Replacing the system by one ensuring a fair distribution of the wealth, the means of production and maximum freedom of movement, the social and legal justice full participation in decision making and so on.

It would be incongruous to think of unity with the enemy and or his agents or representatives, be they White or Black.

Black unity therefore, refers to the unity of organisations and leaderships of those that not only operate outside the system, but are working and are actively engaged in its total destruction.

These organisations have a common goal even though their methods may differ. They have differences.

STEPS

In my view certain steps should be taken which are:

- Ruthlessly eradicate and remove insincere leadership. Expose dishonesty and treachery even through the media of the enemy;

- Hold regular informal discussions between the Black leadership for a healthy cross-pollination of ideas;

- Give each other full support in whatever campaigns or "boycotts", for instance if buses are to be boycotted, taxis must either charge a busfare

equivalent for the duration of the boycott. No vehicle must move out of Soweto without a full load, and the bus fare should be the maximum charged;

- Alternatively all vehicles must be off the road and all people must walk to town. The only exception being the aged, sickly and disabled;

- Any big concern sacking its staff for striking must taste the wrath of the Black man by a total boycott of his products where possible, or a complete withdrawal of labour, if a boycott is not feasible;

- An education campaign on who is the Black man's enemy mounted on students, school pupils and adults;

- A total isolation and campaign to destroy deviant leadership;

- A creation of inservice-training in Black leadership and regular motivation;

- The exposure and listing of all system agents and their total isolation;

- The regular engaging of the community in progressive and beneficial projects, and;

- The education of the Black masses on the liberation struggle in other countries of Africa; information on achievements by countries in Africa; and by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

CABINET APPROVES MAIZE PRICE INCREASE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Keith Abendroth and Jaap Theron]

[Text] The Cabinet has approved a maize price increase of nine percent--just more than half the 14,9 percent requested by the country's 30 000 farmers--and in the process has almost certainly invoked the anger of the farmers.

At the same time, inevitably, there will be consumer resistance as well.

The price to the producer has been pegged at last season's level of R118,25 a ton for yellow maize, giving the farmer an overall increase in earnings of R316-million, thanks to the record harvest which is expected this season.

The increase in the Maize Board Price falls short of the R140,60 a ton requested by producers on the old price of R122,40, but in effect means that consumers will have to pay about 10 percent more for maize products.

More important, according to consumer sources, the new price--which becomes effective today--will have an immediate ripple effect in the prices of eggs, staff fed red meat, milk and other foodstuffs.

The maize farmers predicament was brought about largely by the record harvest this year of 12,4-million tons of maize, and the necessity now to export--at a considerable loss--more than 7-million tons.

Internal consumption is estimated at 6,1-million tons and with a carry over from last year exportable maize is now expected to total 7 008 000 tons.

To help the industry overcome its problems, the State is to subsidise it to the tune of R86,8-million, and to give a loan to the industry, at 4 percent interest repayable over seven years, of R71-million.

The Stabilisation Fund, which was planned originally to help in such eventualities, is in the red itself to the tune of R41-million.

This is somewhat better than the originally estimated R75-million, thanks largely to better export markets than expected, particularly to other African states.

Mr Ben Wilkens, chairman of the Maize Board, MP for Ventersdorp and himself a maize farmer, last night told The Citizen that the Government had not taken any political considerations into account in its decision on the price.

"It has done its best under the circumstances. I doubt that the price will have any effect on the general election.

"The situation is such that somebody was bound to have been fed up whatever price was authorised. Either the consumer or the farmer had to be angry.

"At least the new price means that the consumer will pay an increase, admittedly, but considerably under the running inflation rate of about 14 percent."

He expected that "some farmers will be dissatisfied," but expected that on the whole maize farmers would appreciate and accept the realities of the situation.

CSO: 4420

STUDY REVIEWS FOREIGN ATTITUDES TO 12-POINT PLAN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Apr 81 p 19

[Article by David Breier]

[Text] An analysis showing point-by-point why the National Party's 12-point plan held no joy for South Africa's foreign relations, was published by an independent source today.

It was published by the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg and written by the institute's assistant director (research), Dr Deon Geldenhuys.

The study concludes that there was very little chance of the 12-point plan producing a favourable response abroad unless it found favour among at least a sizeable section of black, coloured and Indian leadership here.

"Blacks, coloured and Indian people are unlikely to come out in general support of Government policy objectives which are so heavily status quo orientated," he adds.

The first four points "do not hold any meaningful foreign policy benefits for South Africa.

Jeopardise

"They may, on the contrary, jeopardise the potential foreign policy advantages held by some of the remaining sections of the 12-point plan," Dr Geldenhuys states.

The first four points deal with the acceptance of multi-nationalism, vertical differentiation, black constitutional structures and the division of power between white, coloured and Indian people.

The fifth point deals with separate schools and communities.

"As long as the group areas policy remains legally and rigidly enforced, it will be difficult to convince the international community of the genuineness of political liberalisation in South Africa," he states.

"As far as schooling is concerned, the problem, from a foreign policy perspective, is not so much the segregated nature of it, but the vast difference in official spending on and in facilities provided for white and black education," he adds.

The sixth point provides for the removal of hurtful and unnecessary discrimination.

Inadequate

"Government moves to abolish racial discrimination can only work to South Africa's advantage abroad, he states.

But a verbal undertaking is inadequate and a highly sceptical international community wants to see visible moves such as the abolition of the Immorality, Mixed Marriages and Separate Amenities Acts.

The seventh point refers to the recognition of economic interdependence and properly planned manpower utilisation.

Foreign companies and Western governments would welcome such steps if it showed companies operating under acceptable conditions in South Africa.

The eighth point on the southern African constellation of states is essentially an internal divide "to restructure relations between present and former parts of the South African state," Dr Geldenhuys adds.

Embarrassing

Other black states are unlikely to join despite economic incentives, because of the embarrassing political consequences.

"Circumstances indeed seem to favour the growth of conflictual rather than co-operative forces in southern Africa," he states.

The ninth point states South Africa's determination to defend itself against outside interference.

In the absence of non-aggression treaties and growing regional co-operation, as envisaged in the constellation plan, South Africa would have to counter military dangers by issuing threats, resorting to military action and manipulating ties with black states, he states.

The tenth point envisages a policy of neutrality in the conflict between the Superpowers.

Dr Geldenhuys writes that the non-aligned bloc rejected South Africa which opted for the "pariah option" of relations with other pariah states such as Israel and Taiwan.

The eleventh point concerns effective State decision-making resting on a strong police and defence force.

Dr Geldenhuys points out that in terms of this, the State Security Council formulated foreign policy and is not a vehicle for the military which would have a liberlising influence.

The twelfth point commits the Government to free enterprise.

The message for black Africa is that economic salvation lies in close economic links with South Africa.

CSO: 4420

ANC CLAIMS RESPONSIBILITY FOR TRANSFORMER SABOTAGE

'Umkhonto We Sizwe' Unit

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 81 p 9

[Text]

SALISBURY. — South Africa's banned African National Congress has claimed responsibility for the Easter weekend sabotage of an electricity sub-station near Durban.

The operation, apparently carried out with limpet mines, plunged thousands of people into darkness for several hours.

republic, this operation re-affirms our commitment to destroying this republic, and replacing it with a democratic, non-racial and integrated republic of all the people of South Africa," said the statement.

It added: "This operation further demonstrates once more that our popular army is based and is operating within South Africa, contrary to enemy claims that it is operating from Mozambique or other neighbouring countries." — Sapa.

The ANC headquarters in Dar es Salaam subsequently issued a Press statement claiming a unit of "Umkhonto We Sizwe" (the Spear of the Nation) carried out the sabotage, and promised further attacks as part of the organisation's campaign to overthrow the Pretoria Government.

"Carried out at a time when the racist regime and its supporters are preparing to celebrate the 20th anniversary of their fascist

Slovo Role in Mozambique

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 81 p 9

[Article by Tim Clarke]

[Text]

THE former Johannesburg advocate, Joe Slovo, has been active in Mozambique in the last two weeks spearheading the ANC terrorist campaign against South Africa.

Prelimo sources admitted to the Citizen this week that Mr Slovo had been in Maputo and other areas of Mozambique organising ANC agents. He was also seen by South Africans in Beira.

When questioned about his being in Beira, Prelimo officials would not comment. They were asked by the Citizen whether Slovo was supervising the offloading of arms and ammunition for

ANC terrorists which have been found in increasing numbers by the Security Police on the Witwatersrand in the last month.

Slovo, together with Moses Mabiande, a former Soweto resident, are the main instigators in the present sabotage attacks against vital installations in South Africa.

Slovo, I was reliably informed, left Maputo on Sunday to return to East Berlin to arrange more Eastern European communist support for the ANC terror campaign against the Republic.

Slovo wants the East Ger-

man Government to provide more instructors on explosives and terrorist warfare for camps in Mozambique, Dar-es-Salaam subsequently and also in Somalia.

He is being assisted in this campaign by the former Natal University student, Ronnie Kasrils who fled South Africa in the early 1960s. Kasrils, has played a major role in training ANC agents to carry false passports and drivers licences enabling them to enter the republic without being detected.

In the present ANC setup he ranks third to Slovo and Mabiande in the overall campaign against South Africa.

SCHLEBUSCH SPEAKS AT OPENING OF CISKEI ASSEMBLY

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 81 p 12

[Text]

ZWELITSHA. — Southern Africa had entered an era of renewal and progress in which the Chief Minister of the Ciskei, Chief Leonard Sebe and his Cabinet had played an important part, the Vice State President, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, said at Zwelitsha yesterday.

Opening the fourth session of the third Ciskei Legislative Assembly, Mr Schlebusch said the Ciskei had a major role to play in the future of southern Africa.

We are moving in a direction where the respective population groups in southern Africa will all enjoy equal status and will all have to make an important contribution to the solution of problems, Mr Schlebusch said.

Soviet threat

Stability and peaceful development in southern Africa were continuously threatened by Soviet expansionism backed by Cuba and East Germany.

"In order to counter this threat increasing co-operation

and consultation between all population groups in southern Africa are of the utmost importance" Mr Schlebusch said.

"The positive role your Chief Minister and his Cabinet are playing in this regard is sincerely appreciated.

"Southern Africa has entered an era of renewal and progress in which your Chief Minister and his Cabinet have played an important part and in which your beautiful country has a major role to play."

Friendship

Chief Sebe and some of his ministers had established important ties of friendship for South Africa and the Ciskei during overseas visits.

The declaration of the East London-Berlin-King William's Town-Durban industrial area as a decentralised growth point held "tremendous financial possibility" for the Ciskei.

"The independence negotiations between your government and the South African

Government were sometimes tough and grudging because you advocated new formulas with regard to citizenship, financing and a confederal relationship" Mr Schlebusch said.

These negotiations had, throughout, been conducted in a spirit of friendly co-operation, frankness and honesty, he said.

"If there are still matters to be ironed out, I hope this will be done soon so that your people's deepest desire can be fulfilled, namely to speedily regain the independence they lost during the British colonial regime" he said.

Ironed out

A working committee, consisting of members of the SA Government and the Ciskei government would iron out difficulties in connection with the Ciskei's independence.

"You will realise that, with the relatively short time at its disposal, this working committee is faced with an enormous task" Mr Schlebusch said. — Sapa.

VILJOEN SAYS KWA NDEBELE EXAMPLE OF DEMOCRATIC SELF-GOVERNMENT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Apr 81 p 12

[Text] **SIYABUSWA** (Kwa Ndebele). — The fulfilment of national aspirations was a reality of Africa which could not be denied the Black nations of Southern Africa, the State President, Mr Marais Viljoen, said at Siyabuswa yesterday.

Mr Viljoen was speaking at the opening of the third session of the first Kwa Ndebele legislative assembly. Kwa Ndebele became a self-governing territory at the beginning of this month.

"The enemies of the Republic of South Africa frequently allege that the country's dispensation is the consequence of a policy of divide and rule," the State President said.

"This allegation takes no account of the realities of Africa."

Nationalism

The flame of nationalism had begun to burn strongly throughout Africa since the Second World War.

"And this is as it should be," Mr Viljoen said.

There was a natural urge in all people to bring together those who belong together.

"How, then, can it be wrong for the Government of South Africa to grant fulfilment to the human desire for unfettered freedom?" Mr Viljoen asked.

The Black nations of southern Africa could not be denied the opportunity to realise their national aspirations merely to satisfy the Republic's enemies.

Throughout its history the Ndebele nation, although scattered over a wide area, had remained loyal to its language and its culture.

Through large-scale migration of people to their own country, the Ndebele were now growing into nationhood.

"With your advancement to self-governing status, you in Kwa Ndebele are now being set firmly on the road towards the fulfilment of your aspirations and needs," Mr Viljoen said.

The majority of people in South Africa were fully committed to the belief that the individual formed the most important component in the state, which had been created to serve the interests of its subjects.

In contrast were the followers of the communist doctrine that the state ruled with absolute authority over

its subjects, who had no part in the decision-making process as individuals.

Democracy

"I find it so strange that it is these very people whose voices are loudest in clamouring for the liberation of Africa."

Mr Viljoen said he could not believe that the people of Southern Africa would really want the kind of freedom offered by communism.

In a democracy the individual and his interests enjoyed priority over those of the state, within a framework of voluntarily accepted authority.

"That is why we have today a self-governing Kwa Ndebele and that is why Kwa Ndebele has been afforded the opportunity of advancing to full freedom," Mr Viljoen said. — Sapa.

INKATHA OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON PROSPECTS FOR NONVIOLENT CHANGE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 15 Apr 81 p 8

["Viewpoint" column: by Oscar Dhlomo]

[Text]

THE wording of the question on the possibility of change without large-scale violence in South Africa is significant.

Rightly or wrongly I have ascribed to the question two important assumptions. The first is that fundamental political change in South Africa must or will of necessity be preceded by a certain amount of violence. What is perhaps not yet certain is the magnitude of that violence.

The second assumption is that there is already violence in South Africa and those who worry about peaceful change should concern themselves not so much with the prevention of violence, but rather with keeping to a minimum the amount of violence that will be necessary to bring about change.

"If South Africa fails to change without violence, it will be because of white intransigence"

I do not quite agree with the first assumption for three main reasons:

Firstly, history is studded with examples of countries and peoples that have achieved their liberation without first having to shed blood. Inhabitants of some former British colonies on our northern borders and in the rest of Africa did not need to take up arms to win their independence.

Therefore, if South Africa fails to change without violence, or at least with a minimum thereof, it will be because of white intransigence and not because it is impossible to change without violence.

Secondly, if fundamental change in South Africa has to come through the application of some kind of pressure or a combination of pressures (an assumption with which I am prepared to agree) then there are many other types of effective pressures that can be applied. Violence, though it is one of these pressures, is not necessarily the most decisive and effective.

"Today's liberates could easily become tomorrow's oppressors"

Thirdly, violence has a tendency to outlive its usefulness and when that happens, the tendency is to look for new targets against whom it can be unleashed. In such a case, today's liberators can easily become tomorrow's oppressors. Some examples of this are the reign of terror during the French revolution, atrocities in Uganda under Amin's reign as well as the present state of the Iranian revolution.

In such a situation the act of trying to keep violence at its minimum will therefore consist in working for a negotiated political settlement, the principal precondition of which will be the unconditional agreement of whites to

I agree with the second assumption that there is already a degree of violence in South Africa. Indeed the white state uses violence to maintain the status quo, while the oppressed use violence to try and overthrow it.

"It is still possible to achieve change with a minimum of violence"

share political power with their fellow black South Africans.

Obviously this act will be opposed by those who believe violence must of necessity be a vehicle of change. They will view any attempt to negotiate as a form of opium meant to retard the impetus of violence and therefore of progress towards change.

That is why there will always be an uneasy and at times tenuous relationship between those who are for a negotiated political settlement and those who are for a violent solution.

The most sensible thing to do would be for each group to do their own thing with the hope that both groups would meet to celebrate on the day of liberation when the question of tactics and strategy during the liberation struggle would be irrelevant.

"All discrimination is hurtful"

Having said this, I believe that provided certain political decisions are taken by the white rulers in South Africa, it is still possible to achieve change with a minimum of violence. These decisions are:

- The Government must announce its intention to abolish all discrimination within a reasonably short time, say one year. It must realise that all discrimination is hurtful and not try to differentiate between "hurtful" and "unhurtful" discrimination.
- The Government must accept that all black people of South Africa are citizens of the country and that they should exercise their voting rights in the unitary state of South Africa. Attempts to divide the

people into rural — or homeland — blacks and urban blacks is a sure way to cause conflict.

"Attempts to divide the people is a sure way to conflict"

- The Government must declare its intention to negotiate with the leaders of all political groupings, including those who are imprisoned or exiled. Its aim should be to devise a constitution acceptable to the majority.

It is vital that it realise that no political solution however brilliant, can be effective unless it is blessed with the participation of the majority of the population, which in our case happens to the blacks.

When these three conditions have been met, black people should then come out in open support of negotiations for an acceptable political dispensation.

Black people should make a declaration beforehand that a bill of rights, clearly protecting individual rights, should be an integral part of the new dispensation. This would take care of the whites fear of "group domination".

After all this has happened, there should be free political activity and expression to enable each and every political group to sell itself to the voters with a view to a free and fair election to elect a new government.

"Time is running out for such an ideal political solution"

Finally, it must of course be stressed that time is running out for such an ideal political solution.

If white reluctance to share power persists, then the advocacy of a peaceful resolution of our conflict is going to be correspondingly more expensive until it is priced beyond the reach of any black politician, either inside or outside South Africa. In such a case, white South Africans would be the obvious losers. The ball is therefore squarely in the Government's court.

RAILWAYS TO EXPAND CONTAINER FACILITIES

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Apr 81 p 7

[Article by Simon Willson]

[Text]

THE Railways planned to invest a further R100-million in containerisation facilities, said the Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, yesterday.

He said at the opening of Grindrod's R1 800 000 container depot at City Deep, Johannesburg, that the SAR had spent R400-million on its role in the container industry since full-scale containerisation was introduced in South Africa in 1977.

The SAR realised in 1980 that containerisation was the system of the future, and appointed a working group to report on the desirability of containerisation.

"Subsequently, the SAR (in collaboration with the shipping lines spent eight years of intensive study and more than R400-million in developing a containerisation system.

"The system so developed has often been referred to as the best in the world today. We were, of course, fortunate in being able to learn from other people's mistakes before setting out on a course of our own."

Referring to the congestion problems that hit the container industry at the beginning of the year, Mr Schoeman said the private sector's efforts to boost the economic infrastructure through providing more container facilities were probably more important than those of the public sector.

"Since the introduction of

containerisation . . . numerous South African companies have discovered the major advantages containerisation has over conventional methods of handling cargo.

"Its basic ingredients are economy of space, time and labour — not forgetting savings due to reductions in pilferage losses and savings on packaging."

Mr Schoeman cited five specific advantages of containerisation from which South African industry had gained:

• Containerised freight tonnage handled by 24 workers at port container berths over 10 hours would take 90 workers 48 hours to handle by conventional methods.

• Ordinary Johannesburg-Durban train freighting took three to five days, but the scheduled container trains took under 24 hours.

• SAR's computerised containerisation system could tell a customer at any time exactly where his cargo was.

• SAR containerisation was a 24-hour-a-day, seven-day-a-week service at approved container terminals nationwide.

• Almost any commodity, from wine to gravel, could be carried in a container.

"Containerisation has come to stay. It is the most efficient, most economical and most modern system of transport for export, import or domestic purposes," Mr Schoeman said.

NEW INDUSTRIAL BILL PROVISIONS ANALYZED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 3 Apr 81 p 13

[Article by Steven Friedman]

[Text]

THE labour relations executive of a top company sat back in his chair. "They'll mess it up again," he sighed. "They're obsessed with control."

"They" were the Government and the executive was discussing off and on promises of wide-ranging reforms in labour law.

He went on to argue that reforms would indeed come — but that they would be accompanied by new and drastic controls.

To many critics, he has been proved right by the publication of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill late last week.

Certainly, the Bill contains several important enlightened measures.

As promised by Mr Fanie Botha last year, all references to race are removed. Any union can now open to all without official permission and cannot be compelled to have segregated branches or uniraical executives.

They can no longer be registered on a racial basis as those in Fossatu were this year.

Foreign workers can now join registered unions, a move which will relieve black unions with members and officials who hail from countries like Lesotho.

The controversial provisional registration system is scrapped.

Sex discrimination in agreements which set minimum wages is outlawed. This does not mean sex discrimination in wages is banned. Employers can still discriminate — as long as they pay women the minimum laid down in an agreement.

Nevertheless, this will undoubtedly help lower-paid black women.

Perhaps the most surprising — and, to most unions, positive — aspect of the Bill is that it abolishes the committee system of bargaining.

This system, in which employers were able to bargain with legally-entrenched works and liaison committees, has been the bane of black unions for three decades.

Ever since the Minister of Labour told Parliament in the Fifties that this system was designed to "bleed black unions to death", unionists have seen committees as an attempt to replace unions and keep them out of factories.

The new Bill abolishes the Black Labour Relations Regulation Act, which provided for the establishment of works and liaison committees.

This was expected, but so was the introduction of the works councils recommended by the Wiehahn Commission — liaison committees for all races.

It has not and, while it will still be possible for employers to form these committees, they will no longer be legally protected.

And officials will, presumably, no longer be able to go about exhorting employers to establish liaison committees in their plants.

But, as usual, the Bill contains controls — the toughest ever imposed on unions.

The Minister will be able to de-register a union, depriving it of official bargaining rights.

Up to now, this could only be done if a union ceased to function. Now they can lose their status if, for example, "they have acted unreasonably in relation to their members". The Minister decides whether they have done so.

New political clamps on both registered and unregistered unions are breath-takingly wide. Up to now, registered unions have not been allowed to affiliate to a political party, give money to it or receive money from it.

Now no union can assist any "political organisation". They also cannot try to influence their members in favour of such a body.

And a political organisation, according to the Bill, is any body — or any person — which has as one of its objects "whether expressed or otherwise" the promotion of its political interests or those of any its members.

Some lawyers say this is so wide that a union could not talk to a newspaper — the Press does, after all, advance political interests and providing information to a paper does assist it.

This provision will certainly make it impossible for the president of the Mine Workers' Union to stand for the HNP or for the president of the Garment Workers' Union to be a parliamentarian.

It would also make it very difficult for black unions to have any links with community organisations or take an active interest in community issues.

No Western country prevents unions having such links — as long as they are with legal organisations.

Local figures and bodies ranging from the Garment Workers' Union through Chief Buthelesi to Azapo, as well as several black unions, argue that it is impossible for unions to ignore politics and that a worker does not cease to be a worker when he goes home.

It is precisely this idea, however, that the Government wants to stop. Its greatest fear is that blacks will use their industrial muscle to make political demands and the clause is designed to prevent that.

The Bill also contains clamps on strikes. A registered union which holds a strike ballot (which it must do in order to call a legal strike) must inform the Minister of the ballot and he can appoint someone to supervise it.

Supervision by an independent third party has been supported by the Federated Chamber of Industries, but unionists reply that a Ministerial appointee is not independent.

In addition, unions (or anybody else) would be prevented from giving workers any "material assistance" if they embark on an illegal strike.

Some unions fear they would not even be allowed to negotiate on behalf of their members in this situation — certainly they would not be allowed to support them with strike pay as they have done in several strikes.

Unions also seem to be barred from having a head office in a black homeland. This is of little concern to most unions, but could be of great concern to an emerging black mine union.

The mines seem set to refuse unions permission to hold meetings on mine property. As almost all black mine workers are contract workers housed on mine property, there seems no way that unions can get to potential members.

Unless, of course, they organise workers at their place of recruitment in the homelands or Southern African states. The new clause would certainly make organising a black mine union more difficult.

There has also been some criticism of a new stipulation that any group of workers within a union who are dissatisfied with a change in its membership criteria can hive off and form a new union.

They do not have to go through normal registration procedures, such as proving that they represent an interest. They simply need Ministerial permission, which entitles them to a portion of the original union's assets.

This is obviously designed to cater for, say, white members of a union which has admitted blacks who don't want to belong to a multiracial union.

Unionists have pointed out, however, that it could lead to a proliferation of small minority unions who would be entitled to a bargaining status which their numbers do not merit and assets which they haven't earned.

And a new stipulation that all parties who take a case for arbitration to the industrial court must pay their own costs has been sharply criticised and could hasten the court's decline.

The court was devised as a cheap and speedy forum for labour disputes. But the new stipulation will make it very difficult for workers and unions to go to the court with adequate legal representation.

The idea that anyone should have to pay for legal action even if they win a case is unusual and could be intended to stop certain unions arriving in court with high-powered legal teams to defend their members' interests.

The Bill also introduces a new "contempt of court" provision for the industrial court which curbs criticism of it.

A key aspect of the new Bill is that it imposes new controls on unregistered unions which radically change the registration concept.

Up to now, unions had a choice — if they stayed unregistered, they had no access to the official bargaining system and had to rely on winning recognition from employers.

They were also likely to face employer and official hostility or harassment. But they avoided the controls imposed by the registration system.

Now they are subject to several controls, whether or not they register.

Most are not onerous — whatever in principle objections unions may raise.

Unregistered unions would have to submit their constitutions to the registrar and notify him of changes to them, but he does not seem to be able to veto changes. They must keep proper books, have them audited and so on.

They do, however, include a stipulation that ballots must be secret. Labour lawyers argue that workers who are illiterate will not know who they are voting for and that this is "an invitation to corruption".

But only the extension of "political" controls to them is likely to be a serious burden for these unions.

A further control on unregistered unions is that they may not have stop order facilities from employers without Ministerial permission. Some unions see the automatic collection of union dues as a source of financial stability.

The intention of the legislation is clear — reform, but only under strict control — and some have already dubbed it the "Total Strategy Amendment Bill".

In the wake of the Wiehahn report, the authorities appeared to want a compliant black union movement — preferably under the "guidance" of non-black registered unions.

They hoped to curb this unionism through the works council system which would have aimed at keeping unions off the factory floor.

This strategy was not an unqualified success. Last year saw the birth of new black unions committed to links with community organisations, scores of resignations from "parallel" unions, and the biggest strike wave in years.

Sure, the new system had not got off the ground fully, but the writing was on the wall. Without an effective union movement, conflict would simply grow.

Influential employers realised this — hence the decision by the giant Barlow Rand group and the FCI to back dealings with unregistered unions.

A small, but growing, number of employers decided to recognise representative unregistered unions and on the day the Bill was released Johnson and Johnson became the third East London employer to recognise the SA Allied Workers Union, which totally rejects registration.

The Government has also, to some extent, accepted this. But it is determined to ensure three things.

These are that bargaining take place through its system and under its control, that strikes only occur if the cumbersome legal procedure is followed (which means hardly ever) and that unions will not be involved in "politics" (which means anything that happens outside the factory gates).

Thus the clamps on unregistered unions in an attempt to make staying out of the official system worthless, the ban on community involvement by unions and the new anti-strike measures.

And, it seems, anyone who uses the official system in a manner the authorities don't like, will have to leave — hence the registrar's new powers.

Whatever one's views on Government intervention in labour, curbing unregistered unions and illegal strikes would be much less controversial if the registration and strike procedures were made more effective.

But strike procedures are unchanged and it is as difficult as ever to call a legal one. For workers at Putco and the city council it is still impossible.

So the new curbs are likely to be seen as curbs on strikes themselves. Strikes are, of course, unpleasant. But, as one European observer remarked, "We tend to prefer them to revolutions".

The registration procedure has also not been changed. It is still possible for registered unions to try to keep new ones out by objecting. The procedure is still cumbersome, partly because processing objections can take months.

And the registrar can still confer or deny union bargaining rights.

The FCI, several registered and many unregistered unionists argue that registration should be made an entirely neutral process and should have nothing at all to do with bargaining rights.

To register, they say, a union should simply have to notify the registrar that it exists, has a democratic constitution and funds which are in order.

Bargaining rights can then be worked out on a basis of representativeness.

Indeed, the FCI has argued that such a "neutral" registration system is essential before controls on unregistered unions are considered.

But the Government has done none of this and the official bargaining system remains restrictive.

And, although unionists are delighted with the abolition of the committee system, Mr Piroshaw Camay of Cusa argues that this leaves a "vacuum" in industries not covered by official industrial councils.

Employers can thus continue to deal with committees — albeit without legal protection — and the Bill should have created a mechanism for negotiation with union shop steward committees at factory level, he argues.

So much for the carrots. What about the sticks? Certainly, the ban on "political" activity will have its effect on black labour action and will be a blow to organisations ranging from Inkatha to Azapo (not to mention the INP).

But the Bill seeks to stop a legal form of potential black political mobilisation. This has been tried before — and didn't really work then either.

Neither are the clamps on unregistered unions likely to succeed. Some have suggested that they sound the "death knell" of unregistered unions. They do nothing of the sort.

The unregistered union movement is likely to find the controls unacceptable. But the controls are not certain to force them into the official system.

There are still crucial differences between being unregistered and registering. Unregistered unions are still not subject to the registrar's decisions on bargaining rights, for example.

And the new powers granted to the registrar in the Bill apply to registered unions — not their unregistered counterparts.

Many unregistered unions reject the official system and are unlikely to lose sleep about not having access to it. Some of them reject stop orders, arguing that they enable union leadership to lose contact with members, so they're not going to worry about that very much either.

There are very divided views on registration among black unions. But those who are determined to stay out have no pressing reason to change their minds.

As one unregistered union man put it this week: "Now — with this Bill — seems the worst possible time to decide to register."

So once again control may well not have its intended effect.

Some employers have argued consistently that, if blacks are to be drawn into a unitary bargaining system, they should be enticed in by improving the system — not by attempting to herd them into it.

Several employers are putting that into practice by negotiating with representative unions, whether they have the official stamp of approval or not.

Most say this has improved labour relations in their factories and reduced the threat of unrest. They may well wonder whether their method is not a more effective route to labour peace than the new controls.

CSO: 4420

BRIEFS

OPPOSITION TO CISKEI INDEPENDENCE--King William's Town--A Port Elizabeth Civic Organisation, the Committee of 21, plans to disrupt the Ciskei's Independence celebrations on December 4. This follows a resolution which was taken recently by the Committee of 21. The resolution was strongly opposed to the independence, and said all people taking part in the celebrations would be singled out. Reacting to the resolution, Ciskei's head of the Intelligence Services, Brigadier Sebe, said the celebrations would continue regardless of the threats. The meeting at which the resolution was taken was attended by more than 60 people who endorsed it unanimously. Ironically, the chairman of the civic body, Mr A.Z. Lamani, is a former Ciskeian politician. Mr Lamani pointed out that the impending independence would result in about six-million Xhosa-speaking South Africans losing their rights in the country of their birth. [Excerpts] [Johannesburg THE VOICE OF THE VOICELESS in English 14 Apr 81 p 1]

SOWETO MAKGOTLA SPLIT--The notorious Soweto makgotla are threatened by a split after the suspension of its president, Mr Siegfried Manthata, and the quick expulsion of his successor, Mr Johnson Mokoena, last week. The organisation's executive is also split with some members trying to bring back Mr Manthata and others siding with Mr Mokoena. Mr Eric Mothibinyane, the councillor representing makgotla in the Soweto Community Council, is seeking to install Mr Manthata back as president and together with other members of the executive have expelled Mr Mokoena from the organisation and barred him from operating makgotla in Soweto. Meanwhile Mr Mokoena, who was Mr Manthata's vice-president for more than six years, said the decision to expel Mr Manthata was taken by the executive. The decision stands, he added. He said Mr Manthata was expelled because of his "aggression and dictatorship" which caused dissatisfaction and resentment among the rank-and-file. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 1 Apr 81 p 8]

PROHIBITED FROM GATHERINGS--Florence Grace Mswane, nee Mkhise, has been prohibited from attending gatherings until 31 December, 1985, by notice of the Department of Justice dated 10 April, 1981. [Summary] [Pretoria GOVERNMENT GAZETTE in English 10 Apr 81 p 11]

TRADE UNION LEADER--An African trade union leader, Philemon Bonisile Norushe, was jailed for a year in East London on Wednesday for refusing to testify against a man charged with belonging to the banned African National Congress. Mr Norushe had already been in prison for seven months pending the trial. "My nation is a quagmire," he said, adding that the ANC forbade its members on pain of death from testifying against other members. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 10 Apr 81 p 2]

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